THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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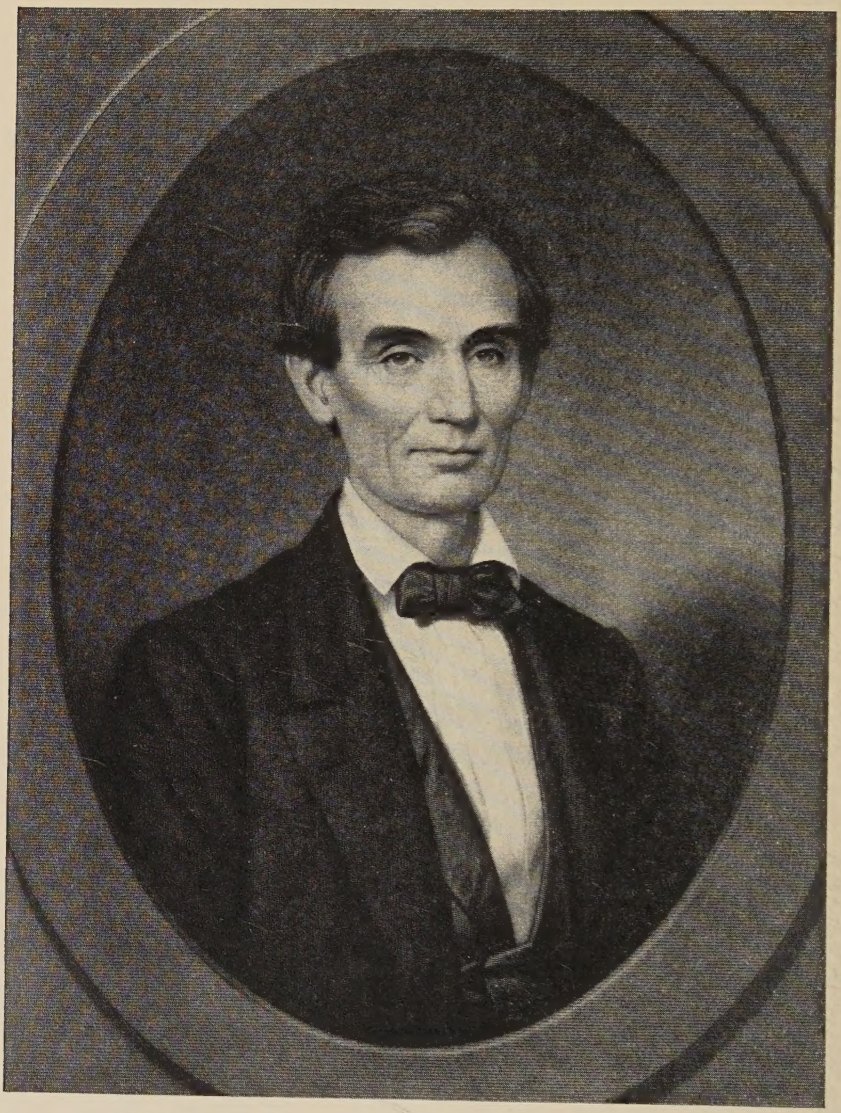

CANDIDATE LINCOLN, SPRINGFIELD, ILL., SEPTEMBER 1860

Engraving by Samuel Sartain of miniature from life by J. Henry Brown

Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esq.

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CANDIDATE LINCOLN IN THE NEW YORK PRESS

by KENNETH SCOTT*

THE NEW YORK daily newspapers in the period from the date of Lincoln's nomination up to election day have been used, of course, by biographers from Bartlett, in 1860, up to Carl Sandburg and Allan Nevins. Because, however, the historian has given only partial citations from some of the newspaper accounts, much material which is significant and valuable either has not been used at all or is scattered in excerpts among different works. Surprisingly, no comprehensive survey of these newspaper accounts has yet been published.

It is hardly to be hoped that such a survey will alter our ac-

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cepted concepts of Lincoln but, in affording the first clear picture of what New Yorkers could have learned about him from their daily press, it is worth making. Any contribution of new fact to the Lincoln story itself (even so minor a revelation as that his Springfield house was brown instead of white,[1] as formerly thought) will be an unexpected bonus. It seems a worthwhile endeavor, therefore, to assemble in one article all substantial comments on the new candidate made in the contemporary metropolitan press.

To this end all extant New York dailies for the above period have been covered. Four of them—the *Herald*, the *Daily News*, the *Morning Express*, and the *Evening Express*—were strongly in opposition. The remaining seven—the *Times*, the *Tribune*, the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, the *Sun*, the *World*, the *Evening Post*, and the *Commercial Advertiser*—were pro-Republican. All of them displayed an intense curiosity about the unexpected and little-known Republican standard-bearer. Their full reportage on him, except for some slight cutting of repetitious accounts and the omission of occasional unimportant comments, from the time of his nomination in May up to election day, November 6, 1860, is represented in this article.[2]

On May 18, 1860, the Republican Convention in Chicago nominated for the Presidency of the United States Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. When the news came over the telegraph wires, editors of New York daily newspapers printed first of all the sparse biographical data available with brief estimates pro and con of his character and qualifications. These were the *Initial Reports*. They were immediately followed up by more detailed stories of the candidate's life, summarized below under *Biographical Accounts*. But the reading public wanted to know

[1] See note 10 below and the text to which it pertains.

[2] Omitted, however, are the descriptions of Lincoln's home in the New York *Commercial Advertiser* (May 26th), *Evening Post* (May 26th), *Sun* (May 30th, June 9th), *Tribune* (July 9th, August 14th, 23d), *Herald* (August 13th, October 20th), and *Times* (August 23d), which have already been quoted in Kenneth Scott, "Lincoln's Home in 1860," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Spring 1953, pp. 7–12.

more than those skeletal biographies provided about what manner of man this was, and this curiosity the editors attempted to satisfy by publishing more intimate *Reports from Acquaintances* —such as Hanks and Gozzin—who had known and associated with Lincoln. Finally, to get the full picture, trained journalists and other correspondents, both from New York and elsewhere, made *The Pilgrimage to Springfield*, saw the candidate, delved into his background, and published their findings. And, of course, along with all the aforementioned attempts to paint a portrait of Lincoln the man, the several editors from their respective points of view were making their *Political Evaluations* of Lincoln the Republican aspirant to the Presidency. These progressive aspects of the New York papers' coverage of candidate Lincoln will be treated in the order, and under the headings (in italics), given above.

INITIAL REPORTS

When Lincoln's nomination was announced the citizens of New York City knew little or nothing about him. The editorial writer of the Democratic *Herald* (May 19th) was correct when he stated:

> Mr. Lincoln was comparatively unknown to the people of this section of the Union until during the past winter, when he made a tour of the middle and New England states, delivering political stump speeches at twenty five cents *per capita* admission. He delivered a speech in the Cooper Institute. . . .

In the same editorial the *Herald* went on to give its readers a candid picture of the candidate as a man:

> In personal appearance Mr. Lincoln . . . is long, lean and wiry. In motion he has a great deal of the elasticity and awkwardness which indicate the rough training of his early life, and his conversation savors strongly of Western idioms and pronunciation. His height is six feet three inches. His complexion is about that of an octaroon; his face, without being by any means beautiful, is genial looking, and good humor seems to lurk in every corner of its innumerable angles. He has dark hair tinged with gray, a good forehead, small eyes, a long penetrating nose, with nostrils such as Napoleon always liked to find in his best generals,

because they indicated a long head and clear thoughts; and a mouth, which, aside from being of magnificent proportions, is probably the most expressive feature of his face.

As a speaker he is ready, precise and fluent. His manner before a popular assembly is as he pleases to make it, being either superlatively ludicrous or very impressive. He employs but little gesticulation, but when he desires to make a point, produces a shrug of his shoulders, an elevation of his eyebrows, a depression of his mouth and a general malformation of countenance so comically awkward that it never fails to "bring down the house." His enunciation is slow and emphatic, and his voice, though sharp and powerful, at times has a frequent tendency to dwindle into a shrill and unpleasant sound, but as before stated, the peculiar characteristic of his delivery is the remarkable mobility of his features, the frequent contortions of which excite a merriment his words could not produce.[3]

The *Sun*, like most of the Republican papers just after the nomination, tried hard to turn his lowly origins and political obscurity into arguments in his favor, commenting (May 22d):

. . . his life is an example of what the poorest boy may attain to in this free country by habits of industry and self-culture. Mr. Lincoln is peculiarly a self-made, self-educated man, and is, in all respects, a sterling representative of the "go-ahead" American character. That he would, if elected, make a good President, we do not entertain a doubt.

The *Commercial Advertiser*, in the Republican camp, pointed out (May 19th) that their candidate had kept singularly free from the corrupting influence of politics, that his bitterest political opponents acknowledged his high integrity, unspotted purity and unwavering honesty of character, to which might be added "moderation and conservative tendency of mind." In response to requests from readers for more data on the candidate the *Commercial Advertiser* (May 24th) lauded his "courteous dignity" and "affable and gentlemanly bearing," with special praise for his conduct in his debates with Douglas in 1858. In those debates, according to this report,

Lincoln not only proved himself an able speaker and a good tactician, but demonstrated that it is possible to carry on the fiercest political warfare

[3] The above two paragraphs were quoted, without indication of their source, by D. W. Bartlett, *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln* (New York: H. Dayton, 1860), 106–107.

without once descending to rude personality and coarse denunciation. . . . no personalities against his opponent, no vituperation or coarseness, ever defiled his lips. His kind and genial nature lifted him above a resort to any such weapons of political warfare, and it was the commonly expressed regret of fiercer natures that he treated his opponent too courteously and urbanely. . . .

The *Evening Post*, in the earliest of these pro-Lincoln apologetics (May 18th), expressed approval of him as "a man of high-toned character, noted for his probity and benevolence," who, "if elected President, will administer the duties of his office with frugality, independence and honor." It also pointed to the fact that "he is still young in years, capable of putting forth any amount of energy that may be required of him, and so free from the trammels of cliques and intrigues that he cannot have a motive for swerving from the rigidest sense of duty."

The anti-Republican *Daily News*, conceding (May 19th) that Lincoln was "personally a very excellent man," went on to damn him with faint praise by pointing out (May 23d) that his experience had been entirely practical and by quoting (June 21st) a Methodist preacher, Peter Cartwright of Illinois, to the effect that Lincoln was a good citizen, upright, and in point of talent a second-rate lawyer. But in an editorial (May 26th) on "The Candidates in the Field" it left no doubt of its purpose to belittle his record:

Mr. Lincoln has been a member of the Legislature of Illinois and a member of the lower House of Congress from Illinois. He has split rails, mauled Democrats, and was whipped and mauled thoroughly in return —when a candidate for the United States Senate, by Stephen A. Douglas. That is his history—that is all that is known of him or about him. His name was never heard in many parts of our country or in Europe until his nomination.

The *Times*, which unlike the *Herald* and *Daily News*, espoused the Republican cause, was scarcely more flattering:

The work of the Convention [*it noted (May 19th)*] is ended. The youngster who, with ragged trousers, used barefoot to drive his father's oxen and spend his days in splitting rails, has risen to high eminence, and

> Abram [*sic*] Lincoln, of Illinois, is declared its candidate for President by the National Republican Party. . . . Great inquiry has been made this afternoon into the history of Mr. Lincoln. The only evidence that he has a history as yet discovered, is that he was beaten. He is not very strong at the West, but is unassailable in his private character.

Perhaps, then, it is small wonder that James W. Gerard exclaimed in a political address (reported in the pro-Republican *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* as late as October 29th), "Who is Abe Lincoln? They have taken him from the obscurity of his village lawyer's life to make him President of this great and glorious country."

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS

To answer this important question, all the dailies hastened from the outset to give objective accounts of Lincoln's life, some brief and others more lengthy. No useful purpose would be served in citing these individually; it will suffice to summarize the facts presented in them. This, then, is what New Yorkers found in their papers about the candidate's life:

Lincoln was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809. He was probably of the race of the Massachusetts Lincolns, though his parents were of Quaker stock that migrated from Pennsylvania to Virginia. His grandfather removed from that State in 1781 or '82 to Kentucky, where he was surprised and killed by Indians while at work on his clearing. Here Lincoln's father also died at an early age, leaving in dire poverty his widow and several children, including Abraham, then six years old.

The widow took her family to southern Indiana, where Abraham received his only schooling, probably not more than six months, and that of the rudest sort. He was in turn farm laborer, a common workman in a sawmill, and a boatman on the Wabash and Mississippi rivers. At the age of 21 he migrated to Illinois, locating in Macon County, where he worked on a farm as a hired man his first year; he next moved to New Salem and for a year ran a store in partnership. At the outbreak of the Black Hawk

War he volunteered and was elected captain by his company. Upon his return from military service he practised surveying for four years until the financial crash of 1837 destroyed his business, and his surveying instruments were sold away from him on execution.

He began his political career after the Black Hawk War when he was an unsuccessful candidate for the legislature but was chosen the following year and served for four successive terms; he studied law, was admitted to the bar and was soon recognized as a champion of Whig principles; he was an elector for that party in the Presidential contests from 1836 to 1852 inclusive and was chosen to the Thirtieth Congress as a representative from Illinois. He served to its close, but became unpopular for his criticism of the War with Mexico, and was not a candidate for reëlection. Instead, he devoted himself to law practice until 1854, when he became the candidate of the Whigs for United States Senator. Since his party did not obtain a majority in the State legislature, he withdrew his candidacy and urged his backers to support Judge Trumbull, candidate of the anti-Nebraska Democrats, who was elected. In 1858 he was chosen by the Republicans as their candidate for the U. S. Senate and stumped the State in debates with his Democratic opponent, Stephen A. Douglas. As the majority elected to the legislature were Democrats, Douglas was sent to the Senate.

Such, in general, were the facts of Lincoln's career as they were given to the New York public as soon as he was nominated.

REPORTS FROM ACQUAINTANCES

After these initial reports and biographical accounts, the New York dailies sought to satisfy their readers' curiosity about the Republican nominee by publishing statements by persons who knew the candidate. Hanks, for example, had split rails with him when Abe was an obscure young man; Gozzin had been chairman of a committee on which Lincoln served when in Congress; Stephen A. Douglas had matched wits with him when they

stumped Illinois in '58. What such men, or others who knew the candidate through prolonged or casual contact, had to say of him went a long way toward giving substance and reality to the newspaper readers' emerging concepts of what this man truly was.

The *Sun* (May 23d) quoted from a speech of Stephen A. Douglas to the effect that Lincoln, while in the Illinois legislature in 1836, was "as good at telling an anecdote as now" and that "he could beat any of the boys at wrestling, could outrun them at a foot race, beat them at pitching quoits and tossing a copper, and could win more liquor than all the boys put together, and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse race or a fist fight, were the praise of everybody that was present and participated."[4] His wife, wrote the *Sun* (June 16th) is "a zealous Presbyterian. Mr. Lincoln attends the same church, but is not a member. He, however, is a moral man and a strict teetotaler."

The *Tribune* used three letters which were concerned with Lincoln. One, dated West Urbana, Ill., May 28th, recounted his remarks at the Illinois State Republican Convention on May 9th, when two walnut fence rails were brought forward, presumably as the work of Abe: "Advancing to the edge of the platform," ran the account (published in the June 8th issue),

> he scanned the rails a moment with a good-humored and quizzical expression of countenance, and thus addressed the now silent assembly: "Well, gentlemen, I must confess I do not understand this; I don't think I know any more about it than you do. It is very true that about thirty years ago I came to Illinois a poor boy, and that I 'landed' in Macon County. A few days afterward, I went some miles south of this place, in company with my old friend John Hanks, to attend to some land which we had purchased, in the edge of the Sangamon timber. We cleared a piece of ground, put up a log-house, and split about 3,000 rails for our fencing, and I do say that I think I did the larger share of the work. Now, whether these two rails are specimens of what I made then, of course I cannot say; but one thing I *will* say—I've made a good many better looking rails than either one of them."

Later that month the *Tribune* (June 25th) printed a letter from Newark, N. J., in which a "middle class man," who had

[4] *Cf.* Bartlett, *op. cit.*, 92–93.

CURRIER & IVES ANTI-LINCOLN LITHOGRAPH, 1860 (NYHS)

had business in Springfield and spent an hour with Lincoln, wrote that he "heard him converse with some gentlemen of great intelligence on the great topics of the day," and he declared that "our nominee is *a tall man in all respects*, that he is conservative and honest, carrying the pledge in his past history, and in his wholesome face."

The third letter was reprinted in the *Tribune* on July 9th from the Cleveland (Ohio) *Leader*, which had published a letter dated Peoria, Ill., June 25, 1860, and signed "L.R.W." In it the anonymous author opined that "A full and truthful biography of Abraham Lincoln would make a book of the deepest interest." He gave a brief account of the Republican candidate's career and concluded with the remark that "Mr. Lincoln has always been strictly abstemious, using neither tobacco nor spiritous liquor of any kind. No man, moreover, ever yet accused him of an ungenerous or a dishonorable act or thought."

The *Times* (July 11th) published a letter written by Lincoln's old friend and fellow rail-splitter, John Hanks, in which Hanks said of his friend:

> . . . he was a constant reader; I was a listener; he settled all the disputes of all the young men in the neighborhood, and his decisions were always abided by. I never knew a man so honest under all circumstances, for his whole life. . . . My wife used to say to me that some day Abe would come out to be something; I thought so too, but I could not exactly see how a man in the lower walks of life, a day laborer, and hopelessly poor, would ever stand much chance to get up very high in the world. . . .

The *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* (August 4th) reprinted from the *Philadelphia North American* a communication dated Peoria, July 19th, and initialed "D.B.M." The author was identified as a native of Pennsylvania, a person of classical education, extensive legal attainments, and scrupulous integrity of character, and as one of the first lawyers in Illinois and an associate of Mr. Lincoln in many important cases. After speaking of Lincoln's proverbial candor and truthfulness, his exemplary moral character, and his consciousness of intellectual strength without any obtrusive effrontery, the letter stated:

> He is among the most cautious of men in expressing himself upon any subject with which he has not first made himself well acquainted; but when he is satisfied, no man is bolder or firmer in the expression of and adherence to his opinions. . . . The plainness and simplicity of his style, and the transparent fairness of every presentation which he makes in his public speeches, seem to have led some to overlook the real breadth and comprehensive sweep of the thoughts to which he gives birth and utterance. But if originality and suggestiveness, fertility of resources, powers of analysis, and of expressing in terse and simple language a great truth, or of laying bare at a stroke the false position of an adversary . . . are indications of ability and talents, then may Mr. Lincoln take rank . . . among the leading intellects of the day.

The *World* (September 11th) quoted from a speech of W. L. Gozzin of Virginia, who said:

> It was my good fortune while I was a member of the House of Representatives, to be on a committee with him. I was chairman, and I will say

that no man on that committee worked more industriously than he did. He is a man of a high order of talent, and when he spoke no man was listened to by those who were in that house as visitors with more apparent satisfication. His private, as well as public, character was free from stain or blemish.

The *Evening Post* (October 9th), under the headline, "What his Neighbors Think of Lincoln," quoted at length from the letter of reply sent by a man in Illinois to a friend in New York. The author of the epistle, described as "a man of intelligence and social position in that state, but no politician," stated:

I have known Mr. Lincoln personally for more than seven years—have seen him frequently, and under various circumstances of time and place, and had opportunity to study and understand the man well, long before he, or others, had a thought that he would ever be nominated by any political party for the highest office in our country.

He is a man of great simplicity and purity, and at the same time of great vigor and force of character. While from this simplicity and purity in his own character he is inapt to suspect the opposite qualities in the characters of others, from its vigor and force he is well qualified, when convinced that others are not as pure and true as himself, to guard against and counteract the injurious tendencies of their acts. In all his dealings he is scrupulously and religiously careful to regard the rights and equities of others, avoiding everything which could, in the eyes of any one, wear even the appearance of dishonesty and unfairness. His character in this respect is so well understood and appreciated by those who know him that he well earned the title given to him by his neighbors and townsmen years ago, and since adopted by his political friends—*Honest Abe*. Many instances might be given—well known to his more immediate neighbors, and some of which have found their way into the public prints—where his integrity has been tested and proven to be entirely reliable, but I have not time nor space to give them. So thoroughly is he imbued with this principle that I believe him entirely incorruptible, and should he be selected to the Presidential chair, I believe the country would never hear a breath of suspicion as to the perfect integrity and honesty of any of his official acts. I do not believe that Washington himself carried with him into his retirement a reputation more spotless and unsullied than would Mr. Lincoln, on his return to private life from the exalted position in which it is sought to place him.

In mental capacity I regard him among the first in our country. His perceptions are quick and keen, but his mind is so vigorous and well regulated, so evenly balanced, that he never jumps at a conclusion, but

proceeds carefully and thoroughly to investigate any question which comes before him; and when having looked at it in all its bearings, he has become master of the subject, guided by his conscientious uprightness of character, he reaches a conclusion which is almost never wrong. The power and grasp of his mind are very broad, and, it seems to me, well shown in most, if not all, of his public addresses and debates. It is hardly worth while for me to enlarge on this subject, when you can so easily decide for yourself as to his mental capacity, by reading his published speeches and debates.

I have thus hurriedly, and with frequent interruptions from business calls, written of Mr. Lincoln, not as a politician of a politician, for in the common acceptation of the term, I do not regard him as such, and you well know that *I* am not. I have written of him rather as a personal friend and neighbor, and given my impressions and convictions of the character, integrity and capacity of the man, as they were formed long before his name came before the public in its present position.

On election day (November 6th) the *Times* published a letter dated Springfield, Ill., October 24th, the author's name not given. It was a reply to a number of questions put by a correspondent in the East and stated that "Mr. Lincoln, though lacking in the refinement and cultivation of the schools, possesses more than ordinary intellectual ability." Vouching for Lincoln's honesty, moderation and morality and expressing belief in his firmness of will, the writer remarked: "His religious belief I do not know. The Presbyterians claim him. He very rarely attends public worship. . . . He enjoys a joke; tells a good story; is very kind and affable, and withal a most worthy gentleman."

Such comments as these, from anonymous or obscure contributors as well as from the better-known of Lincoln's acquaintances, partially satisfied the public curiosity about him. But they were like hors d'oeuvres: they only whetted the appetite for more.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO SPRINGFIELD

New York editors were, naturally enough, not satisfied to confine themselves to biographical sketches and tidbits from men who knew the Republican candidate. They sent to Springfield their own reporters to gather fresh data on Mr. Lincoln, his ideas,

LINCOLN'S SPRINGFIELD, ILL., HOME, 1860
Lithograph by L. Prang & Co., Boston
The New-York Historical Society

his looks and his standing in the community and the State. And they were alert to reprint lively items by correspondents of other papers.

The *Evening Post* devoted an unusual amount of space to giving its readers such accounts of the Presidential candidate. It printed (May 23d) a letter signed "J" but actually by the future Mayor of New York, George Opdyke, who visited Springfield shortly after the Chicago Convention.[5] He wrote:[6]

I found Mr. Lincoln living in a handsome, but not pretentious double two-story frame house, having a wide hall running through the centre, with parlors on both sides, neatly, but not ostentatiously furnished. It was just such a dwelling as a majority of the well-to-do residents of these fine western towns occupy. Every thing about it had a look of comfort

[5] See Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1950), II, 274.

[6] The same account is given in Bartlett, *op. cit.*, 146–148.

and independence. The library I remarked in passing, particularly, and I was pleased to see long rows of books, which told of the scholarly tastes and culture of the family.

Lincoln received us with great, and to me, surprising urbanity. I had seen him before in New York, and brought with me an impression of his awkward and ungainly manner; but in his own house, where he doubtless feels himself freer than in the strange New York circles, he had thrown this off, and appeared easy, if not graceful. He is, as you know, a tall, lank man, with a long neck, and his ordinary movements are unusually angular, even out west. As soon, however, as he gets interested in conversation, his face lights up[7] and his attitudes and gestures assume a certain dignity and impressiveness. His conversation is fluent, agreeable and polite. You see at once from it that he is a man of decided and original character. His views are all his own; such as he has worked out from a patient and varied scrutiny of life, and not such as he has learned from others. Yet he cannot be called opinionated. He listens to others like one eager to learn, and his replies evince at the same time both modesty and self-reliance. I should say that sound common sense was the principal quality of his mind, although at times a striking phrase or word reveals a peculiar vein of thought. He tells a story well, with a strong idiomatic smack, and seems to relish humor both in himself and others. Our conversation was mainly political, but of a general nature. One thing Mr. Lincoln remarked which I will venture to repeat. He said that in the coming presidential canvass he was wholly uncommitted to any cabals or cliques, and that he meant to keep himself free from them, and from all pledges and promises.

I had the pleasure of a brief interview with Mrs. Lincoln, and, in the circumstances of these persons, I trust I am not trespassing on the sanctities of private life in saying a word in regard to that lady. Whatever of awkwardness may be ascribed to her husband, there is none of it in her. On the contrary, she is quite a pattern of lady-like courtesy and polish. She converses with freedom and grace, and is thoroughly *au fait* in all the little amenities of society. Mrs. Lincoln belongs, by the mother's side, to the Preston family of Kentucky, has received a liberal and refined education, and should she ever reach it, will adorn the White House. She is, I am told, a strict and consistent member of the Presbyterian Church.

Not a man of us who saw Mr. Lincoln but was impressed by his ability and character. In illustration of the last let me mention one or two things, which your readers, I think, will be pleased to hear. Mr. Lincoln's early life, as you know, was passed in the roughest kind of experience on the frontier, and among the roughest sort of people. Yet, I have been told that, in the face of all these influences, he is a strictly temperate man, never using wine or strong drink; and stranger still, he does not "twist

[7] Excerpts are quoted by Nevins, *op. cit.*, II, 355.

the filthy weed," nor smoke, nor use profane language of any kind. When we consider how common these vices are all over our country, particularly in the West, it must be admitted that it exhibits no little strength of character to have refrained from them.

Mr. Lincoln is popular with his friends and neighbors; the habitual equity of his mind points him out as a peace-maker and composer of difficulties; his integrity is proverbial; and his legal abilities are regarded as of the highest order. The *soubriquet* of "Honest old Abe," has been won by years of upright conduct, and is the popular homage to his probity. He carries the marks of honesty in his face and entire deportment.

I am more convinced by this personal interview with Mr. Lincoln that the action of our Convention was altogether judicious and proper.

Three days later, on May 26th, the *Evening Post* followed up the above eulogistic report with a similar one by John G. Scripps which had been printed on May 23d in the *Chicago Press and Tribune*.[8] It was also given by the *New York Commercial Advertiser* on May 25th and by the *New York Sun* on May 30th and again on June 9th. The caption was "Lincoln As He Is," and the text is as follows:

Ten thousand inquiries will be made as to the looks, the habits, tastes, and other characteristics of Honest Abe. We anticipate a few of them.

Mr. Lincoln stands six feet and four inches high in his stockings. His frame is not muscular, but gaunt and wiry; his arms are long, but not unreasonably so for a person of his height; his lower limbs are not disproportioned to his body. In walking, his gait, though firm, is never brisk. He steps slowly and deliberately, almost always with his head inclined forward and his hands clasped behind his back. In matters of dress he is by no means precise. Always clean, he is never fashionable; he is careless, but not slovenly. In manner he is remarkably cordial, and, at the same time, simple. His politeness is always sincere, but never elaborate and oppressive. A warm shake of the hand and a warm smile of recognition are his methods of greeting his friends. At rest, his features, though those of a man of mark, are not such as belong to a handsome man; but when his fine dark-gray eyes are lighted up by any emotion, and his features begin their play, he would be chosen from among a crowd as one who had in him not only the kind of sentiments which women love, but the heavier metal of which full-grown men and Presidents are made. His hair

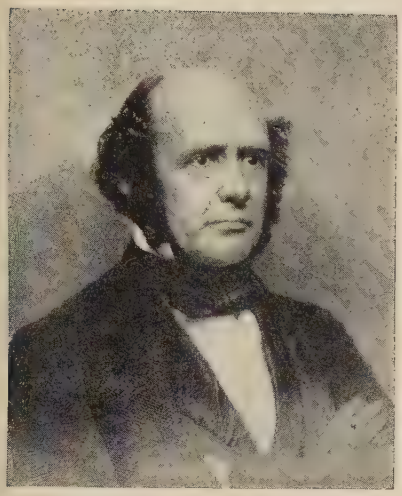
[8] Scripps was editor of that paper and became the author of the famous campaign biography of Lincoln. See Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The Prairie Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926), II, 356, and Bartlett, *op. cit.*, 104–106.

is black, and though thin, is wiry. His head sits well on his shoulders, but beyond that it defies description. It nearer resembles that of Clay than that of Webster; but it is unlike either. It is very large, and, phrenologically, well proportioned, betokening power in all its developments. A slightly Roman nose, a wide-cut mouth, and a dark complexion, with the appearance of having been weatherbeaten, completes the description.

In his personal habits Mr. Lincoln is as simple as a child. He loves a good dinner, and eats with the appetite which goes with a great brain; but his food is plain and nutritious. He never drinks intoxicating liquors of any sort—not even a glass of wine. He is not addicted to tobacco in any of its shapes. He never was accused of a licentious act in all his life. He never uses profane language. A friend says that once, when in a towering rage, in consequence of the efforts of certain parties to perpetrate a fraud upon the state, he was heard to say, "They shan't do it, d——n 'em!" but beyond an expression of this kind his bitterest feelings never carry him. He never gambles; he never indulges in any games of chance. His is particularly cautious about incurring pecuniary obligations for any purpose whatever, and in debt is never content until the score is discharged. We presume he owes no man a dollar. He never speculates. The rage for the sudden acquisition of wealth never took hold of him. His gains from his profession have been modest, but sufficient for his purposes. While others have dreamed of gold he has been in the pursuit of knowledge. In all his dealings he has the reputation of being generous, but exact, and above all, religiously honest.

He would be a bold man who would say that Abraham Lincoln ever wronged any one out of a cent, or ever spent a dollar that he had not honestly earned. His struggles in early life have made him careful of money; but his generosity with his own is proverbial. He is a regular attendant upon religious worship, and though not a communicant, is a pew-holder and liberal supporter of the Presbyterian Church in Springfield, to which Mrs. Lincoln belongs. He is a scrupulous teller of the truth—too exact in his notions to suit the atmosphere of Washington as it now is. His enemies may say that he tells Black Republican lies; but no man ever charged that, in a professional capacity, or as a citizen dealing with his neighbors, he would depart from the Scriptural command. At home he lives like a gentleman of moderate means and simple tastes. A good-sized house of wood, simply but tastefully furnished, surrounded by trees and flowers, is his own, and there he lives, at peace with himself, and for his honesty, ability, and patriotism, the admiration of his countrymen.

If Mr Lincoln is elected President he will carry but little that is ornamental to the White House. The country must accept his sincerity, his ability, and his honesty, in the mould in which they are cast. He will not be able to make as polite a bow as Frank Pierce, but he will not commence



GEO. ASHMUN OF MASS.
Republican Convention Chairman
Eng. by A. H. Ritchie (NYHS)

anew the agitation of the slavery question by recommending to Congress any Kansas-Nebraska bills. He may not preside at the Presidential dinners with the ease and grace which distinguish the "venerable public functionary," Mr. Buchanan, but he will not create the necessity for a Covode Committee and the disgraceful revelations of Cornelius Wendell. He will take to the Presidential chair just the qualities which the country now demands to save it from impending destruction—ability that no man can question, firmness that nothing can overbear, honesty that never has been impeached, and patriotism that never despairs.

The *Times* (May 24th) published an account written by a member of the official committee, headed by George Ashmun, president of the Convention, which went from Chicago to Springfield to notify Lincoln of his nomination. He described Lincoln as follows:

He is very tall, six feet three inches, very slender, and stands perfectly straight. He has very high cheek bones, mild eyes, light brown hair, and a face indicative of a frank, kind, generous and confiding nature. In replying to Mr. Ashmun's address he spoke clearly, slowly, with entire self-possession and dignity of manner. . . . Each person was then presented to him in succession by Mr. Ashmun, and was received with the frank cordiality characteristic of Western manners. He made some brief remarks—generally humorous or complimentary—to each,—told two or three anecdotes, and seemed anxious that every one should consider himself perfectly at home. The impression made upon all present was highly favorable. No one doubts that he has all the intellectual ability, the honesty of purpose, and the fixedness of political principle essential to the high position for which he is in nomination. The only apprehension which any of his friends entertain is, that he may lack the iron firmness of will, and the practical experience of men and factions, which the passing crisis will render indispensable in a Republican President.

The *Commercial Advertiser* (May 31st) quoted the following description of its candidate by a correspondent of the *Boston Journal:*

Though by no means a handsome man, I do not think that any of the daguerreotypes or cuts of him which I have seen do him justice. I have the promise from a friend of an excellent photograph of him, which, if it arrives in time, I will send by the same mail with this, which will give you a better idea of his personal appearance than any description I can write. We found him a plain, unassuming man, one of that class to whom an introduction only is necessary to make one feel quite at home with him, and as free as though he had been an acquaintance of many years. He appears to be emphatically a man of the people—one who can and who does sympathize with them, and who needs only to be personally known, to win the confidence and esteem of all. Such at least is the impression he made upon the party who visited him on Tuesday last.

The *Tribune* (July 9th) for its part, gave a picture of Mr. Lincoln taken from the editorial correspondence of *The Utica Morning Herald*. The author of the communication, which is dated Springfield, Ill., June 21st, described the candidate as

a tall, arrowy, angular gentleman, with a profusion of wiry hair "lying around loose" about his head, and a pair of eyes that seemed to say "make yourself at home" and a forehead remarkably broad and capacious, and arms that were somewhat too long and lank for a statue of Apollo.... The lips were full of character, the nose strongly aquiline, the cheek bones high and prominent, and the whole face indicative at once of goodness and resoluteness. In repose, it had something of rigidity, but when in play, it was one of the most eloquent I have ever seen. None of his pictures do him the slightest justice. His presence is commanding—his manner winning to a marked degree. After you have been five minutes in his company you cease to think that he is either homely or awkward. You recognize in him a high-toned, unassuming, chivalrous-minded gentleman, fully posted in all the essential amenities of social life, and sustained by the infallible monitor of common sense.

After some comment on Mr. Lincoln's knowledge of details and the fact that "his greatest grievance were the artists" the writer continues:

I found him to be one of the most companionable men I have ever met. Frank, hearty, and unassuming, one feels irresistably drawn toward him.

In his conversation and bearing he reflects the gentleman. Hardly a trace of the rough schooling of his earlier days remains. You may be pressed [*sic!*] by his angularity of character but it never occurs to you that he lacks culture. If his manner is at times somewhat unusual, it never strikes you as in the least degree uncouth. In the essentials of good breeding, Mr. Lincoln is infinitely superior to the generality of Americans. I find him far more refined, far more subdued in manner, exhibiting far more the effects of social attrition than I had expected.

I was greatly impressed with the practical character of his mind. No man living has less of the visionary. He is evidently a "good hater" of cloud-capped theories. The grasp of his mind is strong and tenacious. He talks like one who thinks clearly and profoundly. He has all the marks of a mind that scans closely, canvasses thoroughly, concludes deliberately, and holds to such conclusions unflinchingly. He seems to me to be really gifted with the faculty of remaining faithful to his convictions of right in the face of difficulties and discouragements. I shall be mistaken if he does not prove as firm as he is acknowledged to be honest. Another characteristic that impresses me is his eminent truthfulness. I do not believe that any earthly power can drive Mr. Lincoln into the commission of a mean action. I am sure that he would far prefer being right to being President. One feels, in talking with him, that his utterances come from the heart.

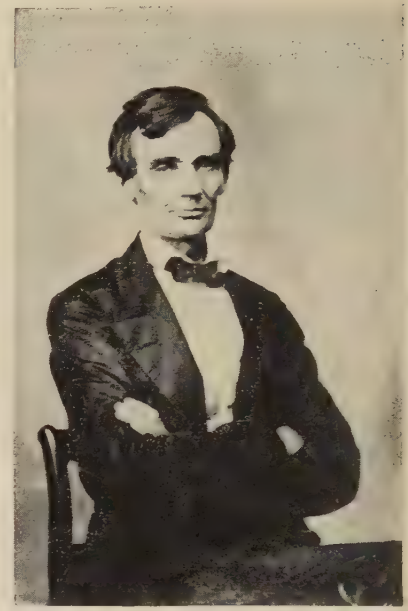
I heard but one expression of unqualified [*sic*] praise of Mr. Lincoln among his neighbors. No man living is more profoundly respected and more ardently beloved among those who know him best. All parties and interest join in paying tribute to his private virtues. Everywhere I heard him spoken of as the best of husbands, the kindest of parents, the most irreproachable of citizens.

Another account in the *Times* (August 23d) is from the correspondent of the *Philadelphia North American* who, after a visit to Lincoln, wrote:

When Mr. Lincoln is engaged in animated conversation the play of the features is instinct with intelligence; the eye dilates with a generous radiance; the cheek-bones cease to have any noticeable prominence, and the mouth, which in the prints has been made a distressing feature, is full of character and expression. Happening to ask Mr. Lincoln how it was that none of the artists had done him justice, he replied, with a humorous smile: "It is impossible to get my graceful motions in—that's the reason why none of the pictures are like me!"

In his conversational language, Mr. Lincoln gives abundant evidence of thorough sound sense and a ripened experience. On public questions he expressed himself with an unreserved frankness. On European politics

he talked with a familiarity which only close observation of passing events could have imparted. The impression which he creates in the minds of all who come in contact with him is that of a self-made, independent, honest thinker. He rises above the politician; he is a stranger to all the intrigues which have cursed party politics; he is thoroughly imbued with the true elements of statesmanship; and, in the highest and noblest sense, he is a man.



AMBROTYPE BY PRESTON BUTLER
Springfield, August 13, 1860
Used by Brown for his miniature
Frederick Hill Meserve Coll.

The *Evening Post* (September 8th) published another article, "A Visit to Our Next President," by its own special correspondent. It was dated Springfield, Ill., September 4, 1860, and read:

Everybody in Springfield [a city of 12,000, where Lincoln had lived for twenty-three years] knows Abraham Lincoln, and he did not need a Presidential nomination to gain popularity and honor in his own country, for long before his name was mentioned at the Chicago Convention—long before he had his celebrated oratorical war with Mr. Douglas, before he was even elected to any public office whatever—Mr. Lincoln was known here as an honest man, a first-class lawyer, and a popular, prominent and enterprising citizen.

After noting that the candidate was "not particularly fond of show and parade," the author discussed artists who had painted Lincoln:

J. Henry Brown, of Philadelphia, [*he continued*,] next appeared, and staid in the place two weeks, leaving only a few days ago. He came at the request of Judge Reed, of Philadelphia, to take a portrait on ivory—a miniature—of Mr. Lincoln, and finished it most successfully. Mr. Lincoln himself finds it more satisfactory than any portrait of him that has been

painted, probably, he says, because it makes a better-looking man out of him than the others do.[9]

[9] This report is confirmed by Lincoln's letter of August 27, 1860, to Judge John M. Read, who had commissioned the portrait; in it Lincoln called Brown's "miniature likeness" of himself "an excellent one" and in his judgment "without fault." The artist had arrived in Springfield on Sunday, August 12th, and called on Lincoln the next morning. "He at once consented to sit & proposed having the Daguerre [*actually an ambrotype for use by the artist between the several sittings*] taken immediately," Brown wrote to Read on the 16th (Read Papers, L.C., V, fol. 698); "we walked together to a Daguerrian room [*of Preston Butler*]. . . . Mr. Lincoln must be seen & known to be properly appreciated. Ten minutes after I was in his presence I felt as if I had known him for years, he has an easy frankness & charm of manner which made me comfortable & happy in his presence. The large Lithograph . . . to which you called my attention [*probably the one by J. E. Baker, 1860, after the portrait by Charles A. Barry*] is an abominable caricature & the Photographs but little better. I commenced his picture on Tuesday morning, he gave me a sitting today [Thursday] in the State library room. . . . I assure you I will use my abilities to the cracking point on this picture[;] truth however compels me to say that I do not think that any painter can do him full justice. He is of a gay and lively disposition, laughs & smiles a great deal & shows to most advantage at such times, but of course cannot be painted so. . . ."

Brown had worked on the picture all of the 14th and 15th, presumably sketching the costume from Preston's ambrotype (reproduced herewith) and filling in the background. The first sitting was the one mentioned on the 16th; subsequent sittings were "arranged . . . in the Representative Chamber" on the 20th, 22nd, 24th, and 25th—five sittings in all, but the artist worked on the painting during the intervening days also and completed it on the 25th. (Brown's diary, quoted in Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *Lincoln in Portraiture* (New York: The Pioneer Press, Inc., 1935, pp. 109–110.)

Immediately after viewing the finished work "with great Satisfaction," Mary Lincoln, on September 25th, wrote Judge Read that she considered it a "perfect" likeness with "no fault or defect whatsoever." (Read Papers, V, fol. 700.) Lincoln's private secretary, John G. Nicolay, was equally pleased, pronouncing it "strikingly faithful and correct"—"as perfect a likeness of him as could be made" (Read Papers, V, fol. 702), "both very pretty and very truthful—decidedly the best picture of him I have seen," which even "when magnified to life size" reveals no "defects or brush marks on it at all. . . ." (Therena Bates, August 26, 1860, in John G. Nicolay Papers, L.C.)

The artist returned with the miniature to Philadelphia on September 1st where Judge Read, who pronounced it "a magnificent work of art," engaged Samuel Sartain to make a steel engraving of it. The plate, after corrections made on the artist's insistence and to his complete satisfaction, was ready on October 1st and prints were struck off for sale in quantity. Two of these were framed and presented by Judge Read to Lincoln, while ten impressions were sent to Nicolay, who wrote the judge that everyone was "delighted with their beauty and fidelity to the original." (Read Papers, L.C., V, fol. 703, 714, 715, 717; Robert Todd Lincoln Papers, L.C., XVI, fol. 3653.)

The miniature was later presented by Judge Read to Robert Todd Lincoln whose daughter is reported to have been the owner of it in 1935. (Wilson, *Lincoln in Portraiture*, 113.) Its present location is undetermined, but a good color reproduction appears in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, February 1909, opp. p. 479.

The New-York Historical Society owns three copies of the steel engraving through the gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esq. The frontispiece to this article, p. 4, is a reproduction of one of them.

OUR CANDIDATE'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE

And now let me say a word or two as to Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance, and confirm the contradictions that have already appeared against the reports of his personal ugliness. No man, living or dead, has been so basely caricatured by his friends as has our next President. From the abominable wood-cuts in the country papers to the more finished productions of accomplished artists there has, as yet, been no picture that I have seen that gives the spectator a correct idea. On entering his office I knew him, because I expected he would be there, but should not have recognized him elsewhere from his portraits. His cannot by any means be called an ugly face, and, especially when in conversation, appears fully as handsome and vastly more intelligent than the majority of men's countenances. His eye is of a grayish-blue, his features are mobile and expressive, and he has a peculiar, hearty laugh, which is not loud, but accompained by a singular twitching of the mouth peculiar to himself. He is a tall but not an awkward man. Like all lawyers he is fond of comfortable, easy positions, and has the habit, which may be observed at all hours of the day in all law offices in the country, of throwing his leg over the arm of his chair, or tipping back his seat to a dangerous angle for one not accustomed to the exercise.

Mr. Lincoln receives visitors with cordiality, and can always find something to say to them, though very often they have nothing to say to him. Indeed, there are very many, his superiors in education, who would be embarrassed in his place. But Mr. Lincoln is gifted with excellent and fascinating conversational powers, and mingles with it a natural heartiness which proves that it is not as great a bore to him to be troubled in this way as it would be to most men. His language is simple and forcible, he seems to have a great fund of anecdote, and one or two western provincialisms in his speech are the only peculiarities of an unpleasant nature which the exercise of his colloquial powers presents.

While on the subject of "personal appearance" it may as well be remarked that the popular *soubriquet*, "Honest *Old* Abe," is inappropriate and somewhat lacking in truth. I do not intend to contest the honesty of the Republican candidate, but most certainly do his claims to being termed "old." Why should a man be called old when he is in the very prime of life? Abraham Lincoln is just fifty-one years of age. No one who looks upon his animated features, upon his determined eye, or listens to his hearty, fascinating conversation, would call that man old. . . .

Abraham Lincoln will not look like an old man when he delivers his inaugural address at Washington. To me he seems now, as he will to all who see him then, the personification of the real and not the caricatured Young America—bold, truthful and reliant, alive to the vast responsibilities of his position, knowing the right and daring the right [to] pursue,

brought up to work hard for himself and willing to work hard for his country.

Later, on September 29th, the *Tribune* quoted from the correspondence of the *Missouri Democrat* a communication dated Chicago, September 22d. The author remarked upon the candidate's grasp of the political situation, his freedom of comment, his abstention from unfavorable statements on his opponents and exclaimed, "He can not only discuss ably the great democratic principle of our Government, but at the same time tell how to navigate a vessel, maul a rail, or even to dress a deer-skin."

The majority of the comments given in the papers just cited emanated from the pens of what the anti-Republican *Herald* (August 1st) sneeringly referred to as "the travelling newspaper correspondents of the republican faith," who "fulfilled the pious pilgrimage to the residence of Mr. Lincoln." The *Herald's* own Springfield correspondent wrote (June 11th) an article, apparently designed to puncture the growing Lincoln legend, which that paper printed on June 26th. It read:

> It is amusing to witness the tortures of the republicans in their vain endeavors to make a hero out of Abe Lincoln. Not less than seven different incident hunters and glory manufacturers have already been here, industriously trying to fish up something out of his past career for campaign buncombe. Their disappointment is painful. We heard one of these romancers ask a chum last night, "Have you got hold of anything interesting yet?" "No," was the reply, "not a damned thing." On the other hand, those who want to abuse Lincoln are equally put to their wit's ends for anything to say. The truth is, that there is very little to praise or blame in the life of Abe Lincoln. He is simply a plain, honest common place man—a merry, jovial man—in whom there is a great deal of fun, without any bad qualities to detract from the enjoyment one finds in his society.
>
> No man can be farther from being a hero, and none will more despise the efforts that are being made to make one of him, than old Abe himself. You have but to look upon the man to perceive that there is in him none of the stuff of which heroes are made; for, though his personal appearance is certainly striking, yet there is nothing in it to impress you in the least with any idea of intellectual superiority. The papers have exaggerated his height at least two inches, for he is not over six feet two, but his

excessive leanness gives an exaggerated impression of his height. He looks as lean, and long, and lank, and crooked as are those specimen rails of his own splitting. He is as straggling and awkward in his gait as Horace Greeley, while his whole appearance is more grotesque, in consequence of the remarkable disproportion between the length of his arms and his body. But his legs are a match for his arms. Talk of his jumping from the back window of the State House! Why, stepped is the word; for, to see him, you would think he could not have the slightest difficulty in stepping from a two story window to the ground at any time. By the way, it was not the State House from which Abe jumped; the State House was not then built, and the Legislature assembled in the old Baptist church. The Sergeant-at-Arms had been sent for Lincoln, and when he had been brought in and the front door locked, he jumped out of one of the back windows and took to his heels. When the dismayed Sergeant-at-Arms was commanded to follow him and bring him back again, he exclaimed, "My God! gentlemen, do you know what you ask? Think of the length of Abe's legs, and then tell me how I am to catch him."

Mr. Lincoln is a man of the most abstemious and exemplary habits. He neither smokes, nor chews, nor drinks, nor swears. He is an affectionate husband, the most indulgent of fathers, a kind neighbor, and a clever fellow generally. As a lawyer he is respectable, but has never been considered as first class. Since his nomination he has a new suit of clothes, and is evidently trying to brush himself up a little; but he never can do it. A suit of new clothes made to fit that inexpressibly crooked and awkward body of Abe Lincoln's has already the look of wear and decay in every thread. If he came from the tailor's shop the day before yesterday, it will look as though it had been hung in the cornfields for a scarecrow before the day after to-morrow.

Mr. Lincoln lives in a plain brown two story wooden house,[10] a little off at one side of the city, which is without ornament either on it or in the grounds around it. Everything bespeaks a becoming absence of affectation and love of show, and an almost unbecoming absence of taste and refinement. And this is precisely Mr. Lincoln's character. The internal appointments of his house are plain but tasteful, and clearly show the impress of Mrs. Lincoln's hand, who is really an amiable and accomplished lady.

With regard to Mr. Lincoln's intelligence, it is just to say that it is respectable, by which I mean next to the highest grade. It is without much cultivation, is naturally inclined to impractical abstractions, and very apt to get straddle of hobbies, and very apt to keep straddle of them,

[10] This report and others discovered in this survey to like effect (cited in note 2 above), being brought to the attention of the Illinois State Conservation Director, resulted in the recent restoration of Lincoln's home "to the appearance it had when the Lincoln family left it in 1861," including its being repainted "a Quaker tint of light brown." See "Remodeled Lincoln Home Restored" in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Spring 1953, pp. 103–104.

FRONT PARLOR IN ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S HOUSE, SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—SKETCHED BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.

too, to the latter end. His course in Congress on the Mexican war[11] was evidence of that, for though his friends here warned him that he would destroy himself in his own district, he still persisted until he did destroy himself, so that, at the end of his first term, he sank into complete political oblivion, where he lay almost entirely hidden from public view until the Senatorial campaign of 1858, when he was brought out partly in consequence of his stumping qualifications. In real political ability he is far behind many other members of the republican party in this State. . . . There is no denying the fact that Lincoln is far more radical in the abolition doctrines than Seward. . . .

A republican editor in Pennsylvania telegraphed to a gentleman in this

[11] Another opposition paper, the *Daily News*, wrote (October 30th): "While Lincoln was in Congress he spent his time in making speeches against the Mexican war. The speeches were sent to Mexico, were translated into the Mexican language, and scattered among the Mexican troops by thousands, to satisfy them that they had friends in this country who justified them in murdering our American soldiers. Lincoln sent one of these speeches to an old Whig friend who resided in Coles County, Illinois, and his old friend sent it back to him, with the following rebuke to Lincoln's treachery written on the back of it:

"'I dare not let my children read it, lest it should corrupt them. I dare not show it to my neighbors, lest they should suspect me of treason. If I expected to live twenty years, I would preserve it to show posterity what traitors we had in 1848; as I am an old and infirm man, I cannot survive so long, and therefore gave it back to him that gave it birth.'"

city as follows: "Send me something about honest Old Abe." The gentleman sent this answer: "There is nothing about him." This is just about the truth; and those who want to praise him, and those who want to abuse him, will find their invention severely taxed to get anything to tell about. His political record is in a nutshell, his social status as precisely that of any other clever, awkward, jolly, common place, hum-drum lawyer and politician of a small country city. . . . The only thing they have got is rail splitting business, and that is a humbug, because Lincoln was at no time of his life a "laboring man," in the yeoman sense of the word. He chored about just enough to keep him in victuals and clothes till he commenced the practice of the law, but at no time of his life ever intended to be a "laborer;" and it is extremely doubtful if there were ever on earth twenty rails of his splitting. . . .

Before election day the *Herald* printed two further communications from Springfield, Ill., concerning the Republican candidate. Both were favorable to him. The first, which appeared on August 13th, was rather general and far less acute than that just cited. Its author, however, stressed, as had other correspondents, the aspect of Lincoln's face when he conversed. He wrote: "Lincoln is not an ugly man. His features may appear rugged to the casual observer, but when engaged in earnest and entertaining conversation they assume an aspect at once pleasing and engaging. . . . He is not far from being a tall, good-looking, middle aged gentleman."

The next report from Springfield, which appeared in the *Herald* of October 20th, shows that even the opposition writers were falling under the spell of Lincoln's captivating personality. It began, innocuously enough, with a mention of the candidate's youthful reading and progressed to a surprisingly favorable report on his appearance:

Books were exceedingly scarce. "Dilworth's Spelling Book," the Bible and "Aesop's Fables" were the standard works on the frontier in those days. Next to these Lincoln with some difficulty obtained "Pilgrim's Progress," "Life of Franklin," "Weem's Washington," and "Riley's Narrative," and read them over and over again. . . .

His face is a study—especially when it is lighted up by some interesting conversation or discussion on national politics. I have never seen a picture of him that does anything like justice to the original,[12] although I have

[12] *Cf.* Carl Sandburg, *op. cit.*, II, 360.

seen some that would be called good. He is a much better looking man than any of them represent. The upper part of his face and head, his nose, high cheek bones, deep eyes and heavy eyebrows, remind one of the late Rufus Choate of Massachusetts. His mouth, it is often truly remarked, very much resembles Henry Clay's.

The correspondent, to form an opinion of the candidate, discussed him with three of the ablest jurists in Illinois, one a backer of Bell, another a friend of both Lincoln and Douglas, and the third a distinguished former judge. After consulting these three, the writer continued:

Intellectually Mr. Lincoln has been as little indebted to schools, or the teaching of others in early life, as any of our public men; indeed, there is no one among them to whom more emphatically and entirely the term "self-taught" can be applied than to him. His knowledge, general and professional, has been the result of his own intelligence and industry. What he knows, therefore, he knows well and accurately, and he never pretends to a knowledge which he does not possess. It is absurd to assert, as some do, that Mr. Lincoln is a third or fourth rate lawyer. He has been among the leading practitioners of the State for many years, probably not a judge or a member of the bar can be found in the State, who has been familiar with his forensic efforts, who will express a doubt as to his being a superior man. While he is exceedingly well informed upon all general subjects, he cannot be considered a learned man, and while he is regarded a superior he cannot be called a very learned lawyer. The learning which is applicable to the case in hand he understands, and it may be safely asserted that most of the vast legal lore which he possesses has been acquired in this practical way. He is remarkable for the clearness of his views, and the precision with which he states them. There is never any mystification about his presentation of a subject. You see at once that he comprehends it clearly, and it is to be observed that he will not discuss it until he does. He is by no means a diffuse speaker; when he has developed the point strongly he leaves it, and connected with this quality, perhaps a part of it, is his habit of grasping the vital and essential elements of a subject and disregarding minor details. He is eminently a fair and candid practitioner and reasoner. He never intentionally mistakes the position of an antagonist. He meets it manfully and signally, and grapples with it with what ability he can. He may occasionally give an undue prominence to a trivial matter, but in general he takes large and comprehensive views of a subject. He has not, to any great extent, the faculty of arguing strongly against his own opinions. If he attempts to make what he thinks "the worse appear the better reason," he is very apt to flounder; but let him examine a question thoroughly, let him feel that he is right, and there

is no man in the State who can present his own convictions with greater power, or can push home an argument with more overwhelming force. It may be safely affirmed that the men who are most capable of forming a correct judgment—those who have often met him as an opponent, whether politically or professionally—will not feel much inclined to disparage his intellectual powers. There is another quality also which he possesses in a great degree, and which so much endears him to his friends, and that is the earnestness of his mental character. When he knows he is right, the depth of his conviction, as felt by himself, will be likely to be transferred to those who listen to him, and this is one element of his power over those who hear him. It has been sometimes said that he requires a good deal of preparation, but the truth is few men are more quick at turning a point or more ready at repartee in the rough and tumble of debate, and no man sooner sees or understands the effects of a fact or reason, upon his own or his adversary's position. His style is forcible and transparent, often like his garb, plain and homespun; his language frequently idiomatic, very rarely eloquent or polished. He is sometimes impassioned in debate, occasionally, though seldom, eloquent, his illustrations usually happy and well adapted to the hearer, and he has an inexhaustible fund of story and anecdote, of which he makes frequent use and with good effect.

The leading qualities of his mind are clearness, vigor, sensible, sound views of things, a comprehensive survey of the subject matter of debate, and an intense earnestness in enforcing his own convictions, either to the court or to the jury. In fine, Mr. Lincoln has a good, strong mind, and an honest intellect. So much for the opinion of three of the ablest jurists of Illinois concerning the intellectual capacity of Abraham Lincoln.

Obviously Lincoln's candidacy and his reputation as a man did not suffer at the hands of those who, whether piously or not, made the pilgrimage to Springfield for the purpose of reporting their firsthand impressions of him. It was rather in the field of political evaluation that the editors of the New York dailies attempted to mold public opinion into conformity with their respective partisan principles and prejudices.

POLITICAL EVALUATIONS

The Republican press of New York, in brief, presented Lincoln as honest, capable, and conservative. The *Tribune* called him (May 19th) a "man of the People, raised by his own genius and integrity from the humblest to the highest position," and (May

23d) "a steady, consistent, original Republican," whose views (May 28th) regarding the admission of new Slave States were about the same as those of Mr. Seward. The candidate, according to one editorial (June 11th), could be trusted to uphold the interests of free labor, for "he once was a laborer himself," while another (June 13th) assured its readers that Lincoln believed the ultimate decision of all political questions rested with the people and that he was "opposed to making nine Judges, who are independent of the people, a supreme, despotic, and irresponsible power."

To the radical Abolitionist, however, Lincoln was not entirely satisfactory. If it was wishful thinking which induced the *Sun* (May 19th), right after the nomination, to credit him with "extreme anti-slavery views," the misconception was soon dispelled. Thereafter the New York Republican papers never claimed for him more than moderation and the more immoderate of them criticized him for it. Wendell Phillips in the *Times* (September 4th) even dubbed him a "constitutional slave-hound." But apologetically or not, they had to make the best of him. Both the *Times* (September 4th) and the *World* (October 30th) presented him as opposed to the spread of slavery in new territory unless by the will of the people, but also as supporting the fugitive slave law and as willing to leave the institution alone in the Southern States. "We know very well," ran an editorial in the *Tribune* (July 18th), "that Mr. Lincoln is not an Abolitionist of the Garrisonian school; nobody pretends it."

However, if to some abolitionist Republicans Lincoln seemed "a constitutional slave-hound," to all pro-slavery Democrats he loomed ominously as a rabid Abolitionist. "Mr. Lincoln," said the *Herald* (May 19th), "is the author of the basis upon which Seward formed his 'irrepressible conflict' platform"; and it added (May 30th):

> We accept the sobriquet given to Lincoln by his friends, "Honest Abe." He is honest, because he believes what he says—believes in the irrepressible conflict. We have nothing to say against Lincoln—nothing

against his private character. He used to make very good rails, and showed fair play in a rough and tumble fight. He was honest in his dealings with his neighbors, and we doubt not he is equally honest in his political opinions. He is of the same school as "Honest John Brown." . . .

Lincoln, claimed the *Herald* (July 6th), was "committed to the most ultra and revolutionary views" and (August 7th) would not be diverted from his Republican "pledge" to root out slavery until the backward step might be "too late to save us from dissolution." "Enough, enough," editorialized the *Morning Express* (October 25th), "to show that Mr. Lincoln is, at present, just as much of an Abolitionist and 'Irrepressible Conflict' man as any of his followers." And the *Daily News* (October 26th) wrote of him:

He is himself a fanatic. He has been in political life for twenty years; and if a single idea has entered his brain that has not been connected with slavery, people have not been informed of it. . . . Twenty years of manhood have been devoted to making Abolition speeches. . . .

The opposition press, damning him on the one side as a rabid Abolitionist, belittled him on the other as a man of small capacity —the candidate of expediency. His nomination, it averred disparagingly, had been dictated by availability alone. The *Morning Express* (May 22d) explained: "Mr. Lincoln, doubtless, is considered the most available, the most expedient, the *easiest-to-be-managed* man for such a scramble and strife"; and on August 11th it printed an address of the National Executive Committee of the Constitutional Union Party, wherein it was proclaimed:

For the first time in the history of the country, a great party has nominated for the Presidency a man unknown, even by name, to a majority of the people. Mr. Lincoln, we admit, is a respectable man, a respectable lawyer, as a popular speaker, of probably more than average ability; but what a meagre catalogue is this of claims to the highest office! Nothing whatever is known of his views as to the great questions of foreign and domestic policy which are likely to arise in the conduct of the Government—nothing as to his knowledge of the great interests and relations of the country.

He served but a single term in the House of Representatives, and there

earned no conspicuous distinction. His nomination was extorted from the Chicago Convention by the force of local pressure, and presents the most glaring example of the pitiful doctrine of availability that the political annals of the country have ever shown.

Beyond this, the readers of the *Morning Express* were given little about the Republican candidate save a few elaborations on the same theme. "Mr. Lincoln," it assured its readers (as did the *Evening Express* of the same day, May 19th), "is a very respectable lawyer in Illinois, with not a twentieth part of the education, or talent that Mr. Seward has. . . . He has the very reverse of the 'talent' that Col. Fremont, 'the great traveller,' had,—for his 'travels,' save his recent visit East, have been nearly all confined to the stump of Illinois. . . . " Yet the paper maintained (September 14th) that Lincoln was very like Fremont "as having no record, no antecedent, no past services as a public man, or statesman to trouble him." "One can only lament," ran an editorial in the same journal (August 14th), "that Mr. Lincoln was only Abraham Lincoln, the Illinois politician, and the sectional candidate for the Presidency,—not the statesman, nor the patriot, nor the magnanimous, great hearted man, we should be proud to see occupying the highest office in the gift of a free people."

The *Herald*, too, saw in Lincoln an insignificant and unknown politician and assailed him bitterly from the start. He was, it editorialized (May 19th),

a third rate Western lawyer, poorer than even poor Pierce . . . a fourth rate lecturer, who cannot speak good grammar, and who . . . delivers his hackneyed, illiterate compositions . . . the most unmitigated trash, interlarded with coarse and clumsy jokes. . . . The only other thing for which Lincoln has been distinguished besides his itinerant lecturing is his defeat by Douglas in his own State.

The *Herald* further attacked him (May 20th) as representing "all that is brutal and bloody in Seward's political programme, without possessing a tithe of his personal ability"; (May 21st) as "the echo of Seward without his practical acumen, the follower of Spooner with the rabid spirit of Helper, and the worshipper of

John Brown without his pluck"; (May 22d) as "an uneducated man—a vulgar village politician, without any experience worth mentioning in the practical duties of statesmanship, and only noted for some very unpopular votes which he gave while a member of Congress"; (May 23d) as a "rough-spun disputatious village politician," "an abolitionist of the reddest dye," and an "illiterate Western boor" who, "without education or refinement," would be the "plaything of his party, whirled along in the vortex of passion if he should gain the control of the government"; (June 25th) as "a tariff man" without qualifications as an "orator, statesman or legislator"; and (September 6th) as a "bigot and extremist." Its summary judgment of him (May 30th) was that he had "no capacity whatever for the great office to which he aspires."

As politicians and editors have done before and since, the opposition press even ventured upon dire predictions of the consequences of his possible election. The *Herald*, indeed, having proclaimed (July 6th) that "Lincoln is committed to the most ultra and revolutionary views," went on to prophesy (October 3d), in language which has become familiar to us on subsequent occasions:

> If the black republican party should be elected to power, and the programme of Lincoln and Seward be inaugurated, we will see the banks at the North suspending, the merchants smashing up, the factories closed, the shipping rotting at our wharves; and in the South the consequences may be still more serious: the railroads thrown into disuse, and civil strife raging over the fair domains of that beautiful region.

The majority of the voters of New York City apparently were of the opinion of the *Herald*, for, when the ballots were counted, Lincoln had lost the city by some 30,000 votes, though he easily carried the State. The *Sun* (November 8th) could not refrain from exulting at the national results and ridiculing the grim forebodings of the *Herald*. Its editorial, "After the Battle," read:

> Mr. Lincoln appears to have been elected, and yet the country is safe. Our city at least seems to survive the shock. Stages thunder in Fulton Street, brokers chaffer in Exchange Place, drays are driven in Old Slip,

Courts are convened in the City Hall, the Custom House is not inhabited entirely by moles and bats, young ladies flirt in Fifth Avenue, and grass perversely declines to grow in Broadway.

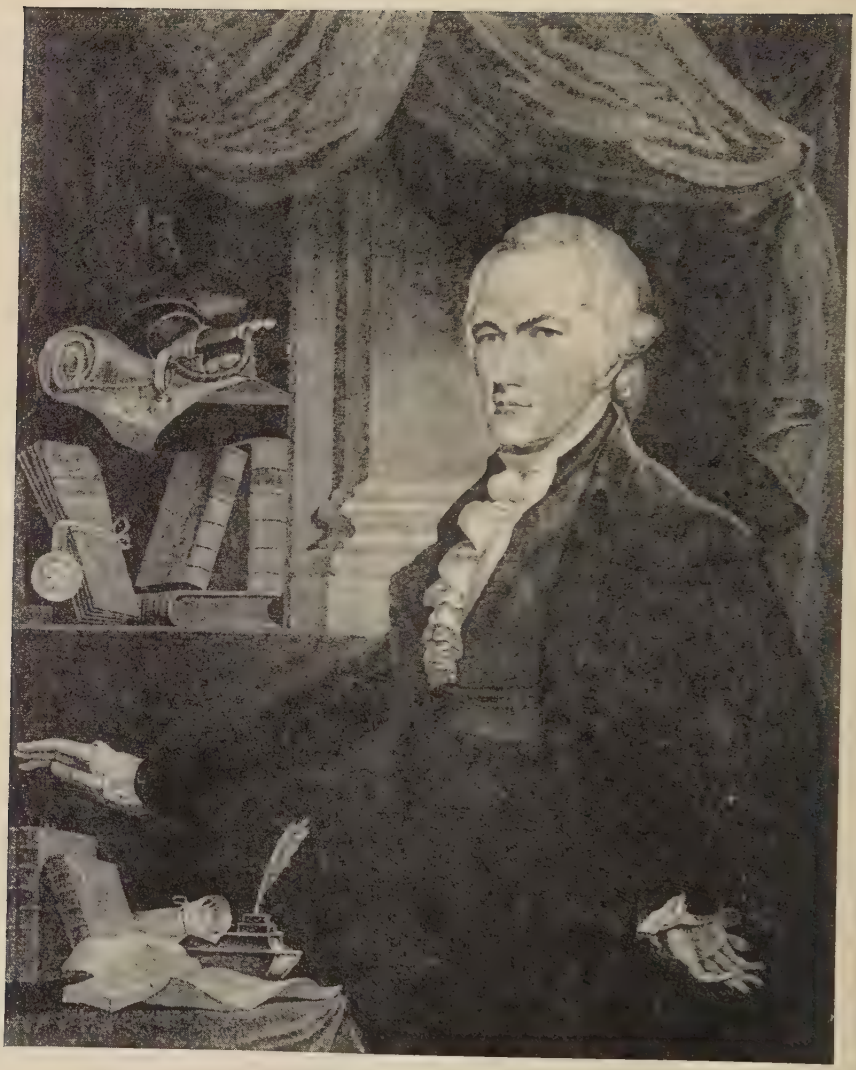
SUMMARY

When the Springfield lawyer was nominated for the highest office in the land, even the New York papers of his own party had little data about him: he was unassailable in his private character, and that was about all they could say. In the first flush, the Democratic press of the metropolis pictured him as an insignificant third-rate lawyer, illiterate, coarse, bigoted and with no capacity for the Presidency, though there was nothing to be said against his integrity.

Public curiosity, not satisfied with the objective biographical accounts provided in all the papers, was intense and almost at once the newspapers printed excerpts from letters or other comments by persons who had been acquainted with the Republican candidate. These items stressed above all his honesty and represented him as industrious, intelligent, and capable.

It was in the nature of things that Republican politicians, beginning with the committee headed by Ashmun, and newspapermen made "pious pilgrimages" to Springfield, while reporters of the Democratic persuasion likewise called on "Honest Abe." It is not surprising that the Republicans found their candidate upright, intelligent, and able. But one is pleasantly surprised to find that the Democratic editors, though indulging in mud-slinging and political criticism, were at the same time printing items by their own journalists which attributed to Mr. Lincoln great common sense, ability, firmness, and honesty and depicted him as rising above the ordinary politician.

But the campaign hinged on party issues rather than personalities and, in New York at least, it seems probable that the outcome of the election was less influenced by what the papers reported about Lincoln the man than by what their readers felt would be the effect of party policies upon their respective interests.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1755–1804)

Engr'd by Wm. Rollinson, *c.* 1804, from painting by Arch[d] Robertson

The New-York Historical Society

ALEXANDER HAMILTON: HISTORY BY STEREOTYPE

by Harold C. Syrett

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ALTHOUGH Americans are generally considered a people who will do almost anything to win, they also enjoy idealizing those who have lost. Stories of lost causes fill today's best-seller lists, and American historians often find it difficult to conceal their sympathy for the defeated. Every major crisis in American history has produced a literature in which the vanquished are glorified. The farmers emerge from most accounts of Populism as tragic heroes rather than as inefficient businessmen. Grant accepted Lee's surrender at Appomattox, but it is Lee, not Grant, who has won the affection and admiration of subsequent generations of Americans. The Southern view of the Civil War and Reconstruction has almost as many adherents in the North as in the South, and Hollywood has been a Confederate city since the day it was founded.

The popular view of the ideological struggle waged by Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton provides further evidence that Americans enjoy idealizing lost causes. It may, of course, be argued that Jefferson was defeated by history rather than by his Federalist opponent, but it is impossible to ignore the extent of either his defeat or Hamilton's victory. As President, Jefferson was forced to continue many of Hamilton's policies; but this is a minor point when compared to the triumph of Hamiltonian principles over those of Jefferson in the twentieth century. Today, American agriculture, as well as industry, is committed to the factory system; and the words "factory farm" stand as a fitting epitaph for the Jeffersonian ideal of a nation of yeomen farmers. In foreign policy, the government's emphasis on

balance-of-power politics is much closer to Hamilton's ideas about the Jay Treaty than to Jefferson's thinking on the Embargo. The increasing concentration of power in the central government at the expense of the States and the growth of the authority and responsibility of the executive within the Federal Government provide still other examples of either the unwillingness or inability of Americans to practice what Jefferson preached. If both men were alive today, Hamilton's approval of the role assumed by the government in the nation's economy would only be exceeded by Jefferson's condemnation of it. During the 1930s, it was the fashion among New Dealers to state that they were using Hamiltonian methods to achieve Jeffersonian ends. But when the government resorted to pump-priming to revive prosperity, it was in reality employing Hamiltonian methods for Hamiltonian ends.

Americans have accepted Hamiltonianism, but they have not accepted Hamilton. To most Americans he seems an outsider who somehow managed to make a major contribution to national development without understanding either the nation or its people. While conceding that events have demonstrated that Hamilton was on the side of progress, his critics complain that he himself was a reactionary. He was, such critics argue, the man who advocated monarchy, hated the French Revolution, admired Julius Caesar, said that the people were a great beast, had no use for noble (but indigent) farmers, took money through taxes from the poor and gave it to the rich through funding and assumption. In contrast to this arch-reactionary stands Jefferson, the humanitarian, democrat, friend of revolution, advocate of religious freedom, pioneer in education, defender of civil rights, and child of the Enlightenment. If Americans are asked to choose between two such stereotypes, it would be almost un-American —in the best sense of that much-abused word—for them to prefer Hamilton to Jefferson.

The popular stereotype of Hamilton is not new. It was known to his contemporaries; it was accepted by his political opponents;

and it may well have been created—at least, in part—by Jefferson. In the *Anas*,[1] Jefferson included all the ingredients of today's stereotype of Hamilton. The *Anas* is a sustained indictment, in which Jefferson charged—among other things—that Hamilton was the author of a Tory pamphlet before the Revolution; that he "was not only a monarchist, but for a monarchy bottomed on corruption";[2] that his "financial system had . . . two objects; 1st, as a puzzle, to exclude popular understanding and inquiry; 2nd, as a machine for the corruption of the legislature";[3] and that he considered the Constitution "a shilly shally thing, of mere milk and water, which could not last."[4] Because most of the accusations against Hamilton in the *Anas* are based on hearsay, it has been difficult for historians to determine their accuracy. In some instances, it is possible to prove Jefferson wrong, and in others it is impossible to demonstrate that he was right. But if many of his facts have been questioned, his conclusions and overall picture of Hamilton have been widely accepted. He viewed Hamilton as a reactionary, and so do most other Americans.

The Jeffersonian stereotype of Hamilton, like other stereotypes, contains the defects of any over-simplification. It substitutes assertion for analysis, makes its subject a stock figure or

[1] Jefferson's *Anas* was a posthumously published work consisting of a highly personal journal of administrative affairs and personalities while he was Secretary of State 1791–1793 and a far less personal journal of his own presidency 1801–1809, with a bit of intervening material. In 1818 Jefferson wrote a preface or "explanation" for the 1791–1793 material and edited it somewhat, mainly by deletion. Portions of this part of the *Anas* were first printed in the 1829 four-volume edition of *Writings* edited by his literary executor and grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph.

The Congressional Edition of Jefferson's writings edited by H. A. Washington included the *Anas* through 1793 as revised and partially suppressed by Jefferson and bowdlerized by the editor. Paul Leicester Ford, in his *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, I (1892), 154–339, restored some of the deletions and added the 1797–1809 portion, and Albert Ellery Bergh, in the 1905 edition cited herein, gives *The Anas*, I, 265–492, with an Introductory Note, p. 204.

The *Anas* makes fascinating reading, but is full of bias and misinformation by hearsay or faulty memory, and many Jefferson admirers have regretted that it was ever published.

[2] Albert E. Bergh, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington: 1905), I, 324, 278.

[3] *Ibid.*, 271.

[4] *Ibid.*, 318.

symbol, converts hypotheses into conclusions, and reduces most problems to moral (or moralistic) absolutes. Because a stereotype is at best a half-truth, it leaves room for other stereotypes of the same subject. Some admirers of Hamilton, recognizing this fact and relying on the primary colors that are the hallmark of all stereotypes, have insisted that their hero was a disinterested statesman and a financial genius. This pro-Hamilton stereotype, however, not only sidesteps many of the questions raised by Jefferson, but it also ignores the principal charge that Hamilton was a reactionary.

The unwillingness of Hamilton's supporters to meet Jefferson on his own ground leaves room for still another Hamilton stereotype. In short, no one has yet attempted to cast him in the role of a Jeffersonian liberal. Nor is this an impossible task, for on several occasions his ideas were strikingly similar to those of his leading opponent and critic. While such a stereotype necessarily possesses all the defects of its own kind, it at least has the virtue of being based on Hamilton's own words.

Hamilton's career began with the Revolution, and his views on the origins and nature of that struggle are not unlike Jefferson's classic statement in the Declaration of Independence. Both men were revolutionists, and both based their theories of revolution on natural rights and natural law. In three pamphlets, which were written and published in 1774 and 1775, Hamilton argued that the mother country's policies violated the "natural rights of mankind" and the compact theory of government. After referring in *The Farmer Refuted* to the "eternal and immutable law, which is indispensably obligatory upon all mankind, prior to any institution whatever," he continued:

> This is what is called the law of nature. . . .
>
> Upon this law depend the natural rights of mankind: the Supreme Being gave existence to man. . . . He endowed him with rational faculties, by the help of which to discern and pursue such things as were consistent with his duty and interest; and invested him with an inviolable right to personal liberty and personal safety.
>
> Hence in a state of nature, no man had any *moral* power to deprive

another of his life, limbs, property, or liberty; nor the least authority to command or exact obedience from him. . . .

Hence, also, the origin of all civil government, justly established, must be a voluntary compact between the rulers and the ruled, and must be liable to such limitations as are necessary for security of the *absolute rights* of the latter. . . .[5]

In addition to agreeing with the author of the Declaration of Independence on the larger issues of the Revolution, Hamilton in the course of the war revealed that his standards of conduct for officials were not unlike those of Jefferson. During Washington's administration, Jefferson repeatedly charged that certain Federalists, to whom he referred collectively as the "stock-jobbing herd" or the "stock-jobbing interest," were using public office for private gain.[6] These Federalist associates of Hamilton, according to Jefferson, were "sordid enough to bend their duty to their interests, and to look after personal rather than public good."[7] Almost fifteen years earlier, much the same views had been expressed by Hamilton in his "Publius" letters, which were published in *The New-York Journal* in 1778 and consisted of an attack on Samuel Chase, a Congressman from Maryland who, using official and secret information concerning an increased military demand for grain, sought to corner the wheat market and increase the price. In words that in a few years would be reserved for Jeffersonian attacks on Federalists, Hamilton wrote: " . . . when a man, appointed to be the guardian of the state and the depository of the happiness and morals of the people, forgetful of the solemn relation in which he stands, descends to the dishonest artifices of a mercantile projector, and sacrifices his conscience and his trust to pecuniary motives, there is no strain of abhorrence of which the human mind is capable, no punishment the vengeance of the people can inflict, which may not be applied to him with justice."[8]

[5] *The Farmer Refuted: Or, a More Impartial and Comprehensive View of the Dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies, Intended as a Further Vindication of Congress* (New York: James Rivington, 1775), 6.

[6] Bergh, *Writings of Jefferson*, I, 276, 311. [7] *Ibid.*, 271.

[8] *The New-York Journal . . .*, Poughkeepsie, October 19, 1778.

The fact that in the course of the Revolution Hamilton occasionally expressed opinions that were congenial to Jefferson might well be considered an accident or an irrelevant coincidence if there were not many other subjects on which they were in substantial agreement. Among the views shared by both men was a belief in individual freedom and in the inviolability of the rights of minorities. Jefferson's position as a courageous upholder of human rights is wisely and deservedly recognized, but Hamilton is seldom acclaimed for his equally courageous defense of the rights of Tories, Catholics, and Negroes. His willingness to defend minorities may not have made him a Jeffersonian; but if he were alive today, it would qualify him for membership—and even office—in the American Civil Liberties Union.

Hamilton's demand for a lenient policy toward the Tories following the Revolution has been attributed by some of his critics to his admiration of the English and his devotion to the aristocratic and conservative views presumably held by the Loyalists. This interpretation, however, fails to account for his hostility to the Tories during the war, and it ignores his own explanation of why he opposed reprisals against the Tories when the war was over. At the conclusion of the Revolution Hamilton's position can perhaps best be described as that of an enlightened legalist. Accepting the treaty of peace as a contract that was binding on both parties, he argued that reprisals against the Tories were illegal as well as unjust and that all lawful debts to the Tories and British should be paid. But the New York legislature, which was controlled by the followers of Governor George Clinton, had little sympathy for either the Tories or Hamilton's views, and in 1783 it adopted the Trespass Act.[9] Under the provisions of this measure a citizen whose property had been occupied by a non-owner while the property was within British lines could sue the occupant for damages.

Hamilton revealed his opposition to the anti-Tory policies of the Clintonians (who were subsequently to become Jefferson-

[9] *Laws of New York, 6th Session, 1783,* 283.

ians) in a variety of ways. In *Rutgers* v. *Waddington*, one of the best-known cases in which he served as an attorney, he defended a Loyalist in a suit instituted under the Trespass Act.[10] He was, perhaps, more responsible than any other member of the New York Assembly for the legislation repealing the Trespass Act.[11] As in most other disputes over public policy, he argued his case in the press. Writing in 1784 under the name of "Phocion," he pointed out that his opponents maintained that they were against Toryism because they were Whigs. But Hamilton insisted that he was the true Whig.

> The spirit of Whiggism [*he wrote*] is generous, humane, beneficent, and just. These men inculcate revenge, cruelty, persecution, and perfidy. The spirit of Whiggism cherishes legal liberty, holds the rights of every individual sacred, condemns or punishes no man without regular trial and conviction of some crime declared by antecedent laws; reprobates equally the punishment of the citizen by arbitrary acts of legislation, as by the lawless combinations of unauthorized individuals; while these men are advocates for expelling a large number of their fellow citizens unheard, untried; or, if they cannot effect this, are for disenfranchising them, in the face of the Constitution, without the judgment of their peers, and contrary to the law of the land.[12]

In their campaign against the Tories the followers of Clinton proposed that the Loyalist be required to take an oath disclaiming certain activities during the Revolution. Any Loyalist refusing to take the oath would lose his right to vote. Hamilton opposed such an oath on the ground that it would be "retrospective," in that it would require "electors to swear that they have not been guilty of past offences."[13] He added that in Great Britain, where oaths had been used for a variety of purposes, the type of oath desired by the Clintonians had never been tried:

[10] For this case, see Richard B. Morris, ed., *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674–1784* (Washington: 1935), 57–59, 302–327; and Louis Ottenberg, "Alexander Hamilton's First Court Case: *Elizabeth Rutgers* v. *Joshua Waddington* in the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1784," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1957, 423–439.

[11] New York *Daily Advertiser*, March 23, 1787.

[12] *A Letter from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York on the Politics of the Times in Consequence of the Peace* (New York: 1784), 4.

[13] *A Second Letter from Phocion to the Considerate Citizens of New-York Containing Remarks on Mentor's Reply* (New York: Samuel Loudon, 1784), 26.

> Wise men [*he wrote*] have thought that even there they have carried the business of oaths to an exceptionable length; but we, who pretend a purer zeal for liberty, in a decided contest, after a formal renunciation of claims by the adverse party, are for carrying the matter to a still more blamable extreme.[14]

Hamilton's stand against an oath for Tories was not an isolated incident, for in 1787 when the Clintonians in the legislature proposed an oath for Catholics, he again led the opposition. Conceding that an oath might be suitable, or even desirable, for Catholic immigrants, he maintained that an oath for Catholic citizens was a clear violation of the individual's religious freedom.[15] In addition, he asked (in words that have a curiously modern ring): "Why . . . bring . . . forward a test which will not add to his fidelity?"[16]

On one other occasion, Hamilton made clear his opposition to oaths as devices for creating conformity. Although Jefferson is rightly acclaimed as the founder of the University of Virginia, it is not generally known that Hamilton, as a member of the New York Assembly in 1787, fathered a bill for New York's educational system. The measure, which runs to several printed pages, included the following provision: "No president [of an academic institution] or professor shall be ineligible . . . by reason of any religious tenet or tenets that he may profess; or be compelled by any law or otherwise to take any test oath whatsoever."[17]

Hamilton's views on the position of the Negro in American society were far in advance of the opinion of most of his contemporaries on this subject. He favored the abolition of slavery and was instrumental in founding the New York Society for the Manumission of Slaves. It can be noted in passing that in this instance he was as inconsistent as Jefferson, for in later life he owned some slaves. More important, however, than his attitude

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] New York *Daily Advertiser*, January 26, 1787.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] "An Act to Institute an University within this state . . .," April 13, 1787. John Church Hamilton Transcripts, on loan to Columbia University by William Hamilton Swan.

toward slavery was his attitude toward the Negro as a person. In 1779 he wrote to John Jay, who was the President of Congress:

> I have frequently heard it objected . . . [that] Negroes . . . are too stupid to make soldiers. This is so far from appearing to me a valid objection, that I think their want of cultivation (for their natural faculties are as good as ours), joined to that habit of subordination which they acquire from a life of servitude, will enable them sooner to become soldiers than our white inhabitants. . . .
>
> I foresee that this project will have to combat much opposition from prejudice and self-interest. The contempt we have been taught to entertain for the blacks, makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason nor experience. . . . An essential part of [my] . . . plan is to give them their freedom with their swords. This will . . . have a good influence upon those who remain, by opening a door to their emancipation. The circumstance, I confess, has no small weight in inducing me to wish the success of the project; for the dictates of humanity, and true policy, equally interest me in favor of this unfortunate class of men.[18]

Sixteen years later—in 1795—when some Southerners complained that Jay's Treaty made no provision for the return of the slaves freed by the British Army, Hamilton wrote that the demand of the slave-owners was "odious, not only as it imposes an act of perfidy on one of the contracting parties, but as it tends to bring back to servitude men once made free."[19]

The fact that Hamilton defended minority rights does not necessarily mean that he also favored majority rule. His attitude toward Tories, Catholics, and Negroes may have been enlightened, but it in no way refutes Jefferson's charge that Hamilton was a monarchist. His critics, from Jefferson's day to the present, have insisted that he was opposed to popular rule, and they have sought to prove this contention with quotations from his speeches and writings. But there are other quotations which reveal quite another Hamilton and at least indicate that his differences with Jefferson on the subject of democracy were a matter, at most, of degree. Isolated quotations are admittedly a poor guide to a man's

[18] Alexander Hamilton to John Jay, March 14, 1779. Windsor Castle, England.
[19] *American Minerva,* New York, July 30, 1795.

thinking, but those presented by Hamilton's Jeffersonian critics are no more convincing than the following statements made by Hamilton at various times during his career:

The only distinction between freedom and slavery consists in this: In the former state a man is governed by the laws to which he has given his consent, either in person or by his representative; in the latter he is governed by the will of another. (1774)[20]

That instability is inherent in the nature of popular government, I think very disputable. . . . A representative democracy . . . will in my opinion be most likely to be happy, regular and durable. (1777)[21]

The fabric of the American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent of the people. (1787)[22]

The establishment of a Republican government . . . is the object of the wishes of every honest man in the United States; and I presume I shall not be disbelieved when I declare, that it is an object, of all others, the nearest and most dear to my own heart. (1788)[23]

As to my own political creed, . . . I am affectionately attached to the republican theory. I desire above all things to see the equality of political rights, exclusive of all hereditary distinction, firmly established by a practical demonstration of its being consistent with the order and happiness of society. (1792)[24]

The idea of introducing a monarchy or aristocracy into this country . . . is one of those visionary things that none but madmen could meditate and that no wise man will believe. (1792)[25]

It is a false calculation, that the people of this country can ever be ultimately deceived. (1795)[26]

Let us not establish a tyranny. (1798)[27]

No stereotype of Hamilton as a Jeffersonian liberal would be complete without some mention of the Croswell case, in which

[20] *A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress, from the Calumnies of Their Enemies; In Answer to a Letter under the Signature of A. W. Farmer . . .* (New York: James Rivington, 1774), 4.

[21] Alexander Hamilton to Robert R. Livingston. Robert R. Livingston Papers, The New-York Historical Society.

[22] *The Federalist*, No. 22. Lodge, *Works*, XI, 180.

[23] *The Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of the State of New York . . .* (New York: 1788), 70.

[24] Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792. John Church Hamilton Transcripts.

[25] Alexander Hamilton to George Washington, August 18, 1792. Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress.

[26] "Camillus," No. 9. Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress.

[27] Alexander Hamilton to Oliver Wolcott, June 29, 1798. Wolcott Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

he served as a defense attorney. The case arose because Harry Croswell, a Hudson, New York, publisher, charged in his paper that Jefferson had paid a journalist to call Washington a traitor, perjurer, and robber. Although the Sedition Act had expired, Croswell was prosecuted by a Jeffersonian district attorney in the New York courts under the common law for seditious libel. When Hamilton presented his defense of Croswell before the

Aquatint (NYHS) by John Scoles, *c.* 1804, "Consecrated to the Memory of Gen. Alexander Hamilton," and showing the symbols of liberty, law, war, the Constitution and the Republic, peace and plenty.

court in February 1804, he argued "for the liberty of publishing the truth, with good motives and for justifiable ends, even though it reflect on government, magistrates, or private persons."[28] He also contended that if there were not freedom of the press backed by the courts, "then in vain will the voice of the people be raised against the inroads of tyranny."[29] Finally, he maintained that in libel cases, juries rather than judges should decide what constituted a libel. Because judges were "permanent bodies," their "power may be converted into the engine of oppression," which could "compromise our independence." Juries, on the other hand, were made up of a "changeable body of men chosen by the

[28] *The Speeches . . . in the Great Cause of the People against Harry Croswell . . .* (New York: 1804), 64.

[29] *Ibid.*, 63.

people" and, as such, were responsive to the people.[30] The Croswell case is a fitting example with which to conclude a stereotype of Hamilton as a Jeffersonian liberal, for in it Hamilton used Jeffersonian arguments to defend a man whom the followers of Jefferson were seeking to prosecute with tactics made famous by the Federalists.

The stereotype of Hamilton as a Jeffersonian liberal converts the nation's leading Federalist into a humanitarian, a product of the Enlightenment, a defender of individual freedom and minority rights, and an advocate of popular government. It is, of course, an image of Hamilton that no serious student of American history could accept. Despite the fact that it is based on what historians call "primary sources," it has the defects of all stereotypes. It is not the whole man, and it is not the whole truth. But it is part of the man and part of the truth. As such, it deserves to be included in what in the past has all too often passed for the whole man.

Most students of Hamilton, like most of his contemporaries, have reacted strongly to his personality and his policies. As a consequence, they have depicted him as either all white or all black, with conservatives making him a hero and liberals viewing him as a villain. The evidence suggests that he was neither. He was, instead, an extraordinarily complex individual who defies categorization. No man is consistently and invariably honest or dishonest, liberal or reactionary, democratic or autocratic; and all men to some extent are bundles of contradictions. Hamilton is no exception to these generalizations. He led a full and varied life, and the range of his interests and opinions reveal that he was anything but doctrinaire. Like any other individual, he was a subtle and confusing mixture of the good and the bad, the right and the wrong, the exalted and the debased. To many Americans, he will always be nothing more than a symbol, but this should not excuse historians from acknowledging that he was also a human being.

[30] *Ibid.*, 64.

JOHN HILL, MASTER OF AQUATINT

1770–1850

by Richard J. Koke
Curator of the Museum

HILL'S SELF-PORTRAIT
Miniature, *c.* 1798
Unlocated. (Photo by FARL)

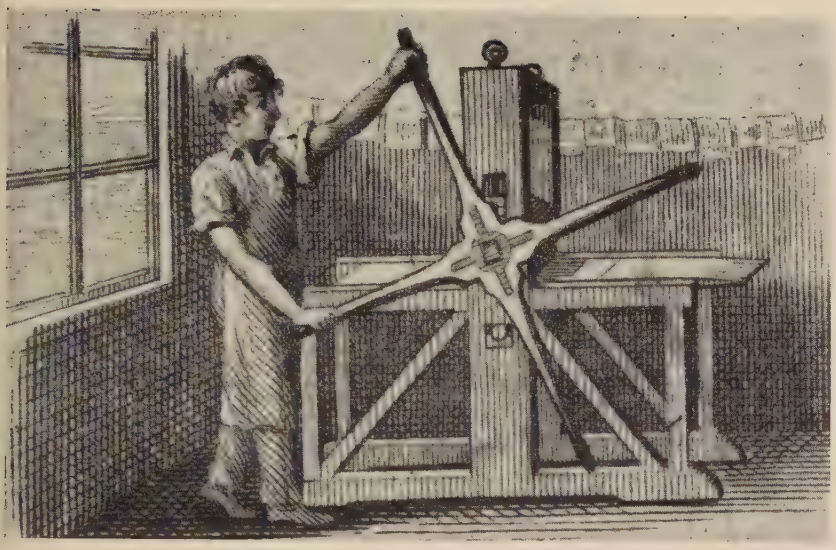
SOME names, well known from their connection with historic achievements, elicit no concrete image of a man or biographical story. Yet diligent inquiry may succeed in drawing together the threads of a forgotten life and imbue a name with characteristics, form, and personality. One such inquiry into the history of the famed but shadowy engraver of the *Hudson River Portfolio* had its origin in a picturesque little cemetery in the rural Hudson Valley county of Rockland, where a slender white tombstone faces westward towards the Ramapo hills bearing on its face the name "John Hill, artist." It marks the final resting place of a man who, in his quest for artistic and financial success and later the contentment of old age, followed a path from London to Philadelphia, then to New York, and finally to a country home scarce a mile from the graveyard where his body lies.

In the 19th century many artists sought to widen their reputations through the sale of reproductions of their paintings and watercolors to the American public. Few painters, however, were themselves engravers, etchers, lithographers or printmakers, and many would have remained unnoticed except for the col-

laboration of those who were skilled in such arts. Moreover, if the artisan who transferred the original designs onto the plates and stones from which the printed impressions were taken was a true artist in his medium, he might so blend his efforts with those of the painter as to justify the conclusion that he participated in the creative result. Such a man was the English-American engraver John Hill, whose name appears on many of the finest American aquatints of the early 19th century, and on notable prints which today are highly prized by discriminating collectors, libraries, and museums.

Even in his own day the popularity of Hill's work was apparent from the reissues of many of his plates. His prints have been praised for the quality of their execution and the beautiful application of their color. His engraving for Joshua Shaw's *Picturesque Views of American Scenery* between 1819 and 1821 was a pioneer effort of great importance in the American print world, which opened the eyes of Americans to the possibilities of aquatint when demonstrated by an expert. His plates for the *Hudson River Portfolio*—the artistic pinnacle of his career—gained him fame, but have overshadowed many other plates of exquisite or superior workmanship.

His engravings of New York, Philadelphia, and the American scene have been commended in the highest terms as "choice bits" of Americana, winning him his repute as one of the most talented and prolific workers in aquatint during the Golden Age of American engraving in the early 19th century. Even as one whose talents lay primarily in the oblique art of reproduction, Hill's contribution was such that he deserves to rank high among artists who helped to give impetus to the development of the American landscape school, for the efforts of printmakers such as he paved the way for a wider public appreciation of the landscapists in oil on canvas. His aquatints have always brought excellent prices, but lack of interest in the man himself was nowhere more evident than when his self-portrait in miniature was sold at auction in 1938 for the niggardly sum of $25.



COPPERPLATE PRESS SUCH AS HILL USED

Trade card of Samuel Maverick, engraved by Peter Maverick, *c.* 1815

Bella C. Landauer Collection, The New-York Historical Society

Aquatint: The Process

The intaglio art of aquatint to which Hill devoted a lifetime of endeavor was a specialized field with which, generally speaking, the public is little acquainted. Basically, it was an etching rather than an engraving process where areas in tone instead of line were bitten into a plate by the action of acid through a porous ground. Invented in the latter half of the 18th century, presumably by a Frenchman, it quickly found its way into England and flourished in great vogue for some seventy years before it was superseded by lithography. Paul Sandby, who was perhaps the first of the English engravers to adopt the medium in the 1770s, gave to it the name *aquatinta*—a combination of the Latin *aqua* (water) and *tincta* (dyed)—and those who pursued the craft designated themselves as "aquatinta engravers."

Strength in an aquatint was usually obtained in conjunction with the etched line, and customarily the first step in the creation

of such a print, before the application of tone, was the etching of the outlines of the composition into the plate. The smooth surface of a burnished copperplate was first prepared by daubing it with an acid-resistant "etching ground" composed of asphaltum, pitch, and beeswax, and the design was outlined upon this ground with a sharp etching needle which cut through to the copper. The reverse of the plate having received a protective coat of varnish, the copper was then immersed in a bath of nitric acid long enough for the acid to penetrate the open incisions and bite a light but sharp outline in the metal. The wax-like ground was then removed with turpentine and, if desired, a preliminary trial proof could be pulled to determine the possibilities of the plate.

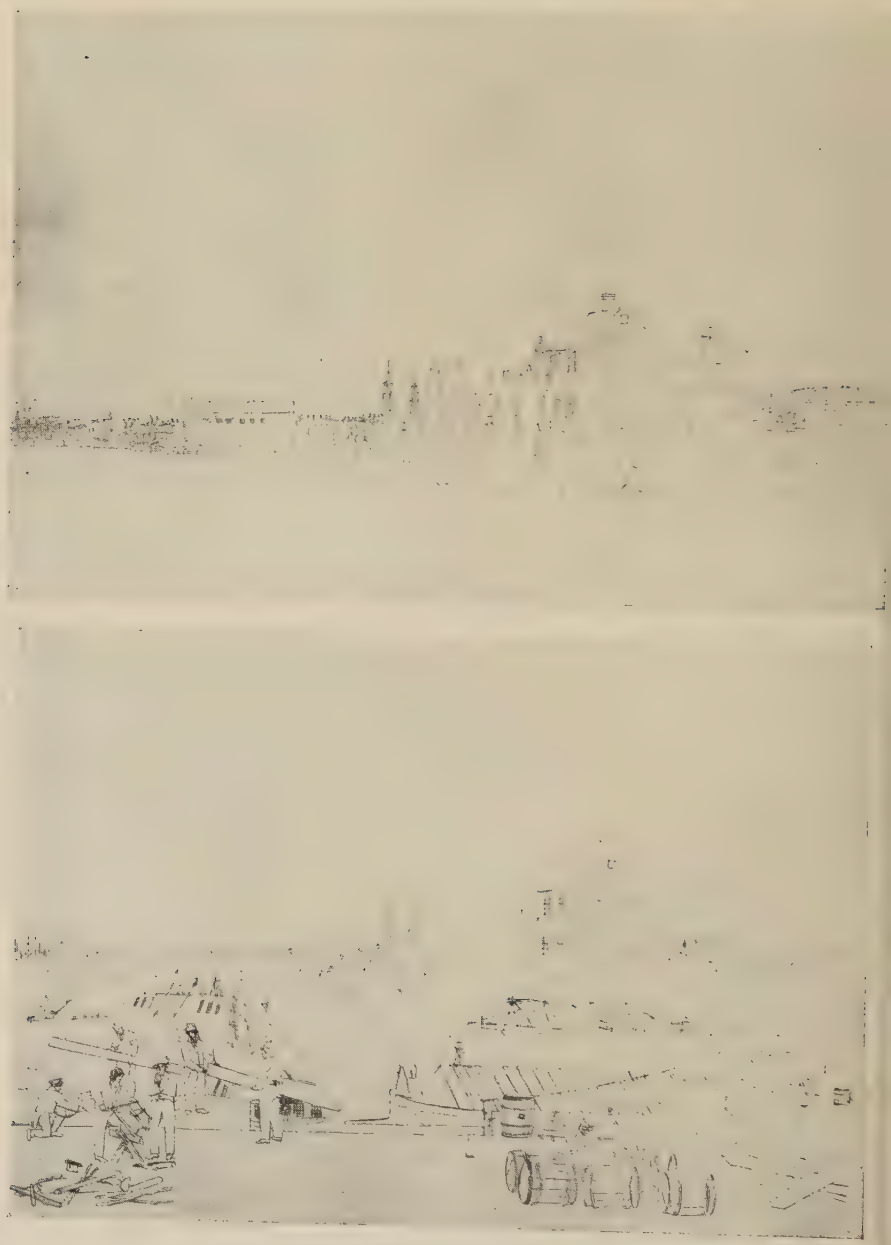
The second step commenced with the application of an "aquatint ground" over the surface of the entire plate. This ground differed from the etching ground in being porous rather than solid, the pores giving it a net-like appearance. The most frequently used method of preparing the ground was to sprinkle the surface with a fine coating of powdered resin, then fix this onto the plate with heat, producing a film broken into a multitude of fine granules. Another method, appropriately called a "spirit ground," consisted of floating a solution of resin in spirits of wine over the surface and allowing the liquid to evaporate. This left a grain even more delicate than that obtained by means of the dust-box and powder bag. The spirit ground was best suited for small plates, while the powder base was better adapted for large coppers where the coarseness of its rough texture could bind broad masses of tone without the distraction of too many minutiae of detail.

Before the acid was allowed to begin its biting of tones, the back of the plate and the margins and those parts which were to be white when printed were again covered with a coat of acid-resistant varnish. This done, the development of the tones—or tints, as John Hill described them—was started by placing the plate into a bath of *aquafortis* (the corrosive solution of nitric acid) which bit into the spaces between the particles of resin and

produced a crackled surface on the copper characteristic of the reticulated grain of aquatint. The longer the plate remained immersed, the deeper it was bitten and consequently the blacker the tones would be when printed. As soon as the lighter hues had been bitten to their required density, the plate was removed from the liquid and those parts were likewise stopped-out with varnish. It was thereafter repeatedly bitten and stopped-out until all of the desired gradations of successively darkening tints had been obtained. The areas which were to be of darkest tone were naturally left for the most bitings.

The chief limitation of many aquatints was the difficulty of attaining more than a few differences of shade, but a skilled aquatinter nevertheless could bring out delicate nuances of light and shade by carefully working the copper. Many of the English artists with whom Hill worked frequently scribed or etched their compositions on the plates and then turned them over to the aquatinters for completion in tone. The toning process did not necessarily have to be done on one ground, and when trial proofs showed deeper etching to be necessary a copper might be regrounded to permit additional biting. The process was not easy. The quality of a plate depended much upon the care with which it had been burnished; upon the evenness of laying the ground; upon knowing exactly how long to allow the acid to bite; and upon the final touching up of areas still too lightly bitten by darkening them through application of a brush dipped in acid. One false move could ruin an entire plate. The technical difficulties alone were sufficient to deter an amateur.

When all biting was completed, the plate was readied for printing by removing its remaining film of protecting varnish. An oily ink was then daubed on the surface and the excess wiped from the uncut parts, leaving only the lines and hollows full of ink. After the copper had been lightly warmed over a stove to soften the ink, it was finally placed in the bed of a press. Dampened paper being laid upon it, the plate was pulled through the rollers—once for each impression—under pressure so intense



FOUR STAGES OF A JOHN HILL AQUATINT (NYHS)

1. Engraver's preparatory pencil sketch with color notations
2. Trial proof after plate was etched only in line

FROM ONE OF J. W. HILL'S ERIE CANAL WATERCOLORS, 1830–32

3. Trial proof with watercolor wash as guide for aquatint tones
4. Print from plate after aquatinting, but unlettered and uncolored

that the paper was literally molded into the etched areas to pick up the ink. When colored by hand, as was customary with the larger and more ambitious plates, the result was a stunning illustration.

The beautiful chiaroscuro of expert aquatint, closely resembling the wash of watercolor, made it an ideal medium for the reproduction of landscapes, seascapes, naval engagements, caricatures, and the sporting prints which are among the best-known of English engravings. The process proved notably successful in the production of handsome color-plate albums of scenic views, many of which were first brought out in installments and then reissued in volumes with a publisher's imprint.

I: LONDON

English Engraver in Aquatint

Though John Hill is regarded as an American engraver, his background and early reputation as an aquatinter were English. He was born in London, September 9, 1770, but of his parentage and early life nothing is known. His boyhood and youth were probably less influenced by the political turmoil of the reign of George III—rebellion in America, agitation for reform in Ireland, consolidation of British rule in India, the French Revolution, and the struggle with Napoleon—than by the virile intellectual, social, and artistic life then flourishing in the island-Kingdom. This was the age of Dr. Samuel Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith, of Edward Gibbon, David Hume, and Adam Smith, and of the fashionable painters Gainsborough, Lawrence, Reynolds, and Romney. Publishers of books and prints never ceased their efforts, and engravers by the score moved in and out of the London bookshops along the Strand. In the late 18th century the English school of aquatint had already entered its great period whose fullest fruition in the early decades of the next century would be second to none in skill, zest, and variety of output.

Hill's first acquaintance with the engraving art came as one of sixteen apprentices in the traditional process of engraving to a London printmaker and publisher of illustrated books on conchology named Martin. But he left Martin before the completion of his apprenticeship in the hope of learning the exciting new technique called aquatinta. He tried to buy the secret of this method from an engraver who claimed to be its "discoverer," but was unable to raise the two guineas the man asked, so set about attempting to ascertain the process for himself. Evidently he had some idea of the method, but experimented fruitlessly for a month or so before he blundered on the secret of the spirit ground. This secret consisted of dissolving resin in spirits and flowing it over the surface of a copperplate to gain the granulated film through which the plate could be bitten with nitric acid. Having discovered the spirit ground, he was soon able to explore the other intricacies of the aquatinter's art, including the powder ground, though some of his early work did reflect an unsureness of technique.[1]

Now ready to begin the career which would earn his notable reputation as an aquatint engraver, Hill was a rather unprepossessing youth in his late twenties. His heavy though not unpleasant visage displayed a thick nose, full lips, chunky cheekbones, and large eyes peering from beneath a broad forehead topped with light brown hair. So, at any rate, he appears in the only known portrait of him: a miniature painted by himself probably in the late 1790s, as judged by apparent age and costume. The self-portrait shows considerable talent for the medium and, indeed, Hill, who also was to sketch landscapes and townscapes, thought of himself under the broad term of "artist" rather than merely "engraver" or "aquatintist."[2]

[1] The details of Hill's apprenticeship and discovery of aquatint are taken from a biographical note on John William Hill, written in 1874 on the letterhead paper of Gordon L. Ford, in the folder on "John W. Hill," Ford Collection, Ms. Div., NYPL. The Ford family of Brooklyn, N.Y., was intimately connected with the later Hills, and the details of the biographical sketch were given by John William Hill himself.

[2] The description of John Hill is from the data listed in the folder pertaining to his miniature in the Frick Art Reference Library, N.Y.C. This self-portrait descended in

Hill's work as an engraver over his own signature, insofar as one can learn from the entries in his account book,[3] started in 1798 when he entered as his first customer the name of the aged fencing master, Henry Angelo, who once had won royal praise as the most elegant horseman of his day. In August, the very month in which Nelson annihilated the French fleet in the waters of Aboukir Bay, 27-year-old John Hill billed Angelo for aquatinting a plate of Wimbleton Common and, later that year and in 1799, for 23 other plates drawn by Thomas Rowlandson for Angelo's treatise on the use of the *Hungarian & Highland Broadsword*.[4] Some of Hill's other early accounts were with artist-authors such as Henry Wigstead, for whom Hill aquatinted twenty small plates in 1799 to illustrate a tour of Wales,[5] and the well-known songwriter and amateur artist Charles Dibdin, who commissioned him in 1801 and 1802 to aquatint sixty small plates

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the Hill family to the artist's great-grandson, Charles M. Hill, who sold it to the Old Print Shop in New York for $250 in 1930. It next came into possession of Erskine Hewitt, and in 1934 was exhibited at The New-York Historical Society with the Hewitt collection of miniatures. In 1938 it was sold at auction for $25 with the Hewitt collection at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York. Its present location is unknown.

[3] Hill's manuscript account book of his English years, covering the period between 1798 and mid-1816, is an indispensable source for a study of his London activity. Unlike the record book which he later kept in America, it leaves out all references to his daily life, but is fully informative regarding his engravings and the people for whom he worked. It descended in the family to Hill's great-grandson, Charles M. Hill of East Westmoreland, N. H., who sold it in 1956 to Harry Shaw Newman of the Old Print Shop, and the latter, in turn, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where it is now preserved in the Print Department. The statements hereafter made relating to Hill's English work are based on entries in this book except where other sources are cited.

[4] The dates of Hill's bills for these and his subsequent English plates, all from his Account Book, 1798–1816, MMA, will be cited in a complete checklist of John Hill's engravings and deposited in The New-York Historical Society. A copy of the *Hungarian & Highland Broadsword* (London: 1799) is in the Print Room, NYPL. The plates bear the publication date Sept. 1, 1798, and the book the imprint of Henry Angelo and Son of Curzon Street, Mayfair, fencing masters to the Light Horse Volunteers of London and Westminster. The aquatinter's name is not mentioned in Angelo's book, but Hill's connection is known from the listings in his account book. He charged 7*s*. 6*d*. per plate for aquatinting, and 15*s*. for the frontispiece.

[5] Wigstead's book, a copy of which is at NYPL, was entitled *Remarks on a Tour to North and South Wales in the Year 1797* (London: 1799 [1800]). The title page states that plates were engraved from drawings by Howitt, Pugh, Rowlandson, and others, and were "aquatinted by I. Hill." Hill charged Wigstead £1:11:6 per plate, save for one of a Welsh landlady, for which he charged 10*s*. 6*d*.

and vignettes for the published account of his journeys in England and Scotland.[6]

At this same time Hill started work on one of his most important early commissions: between 1801 and 1807 he aquatinted the 121 plates (some of his loveliest engravings) for William

PLATE 1 (1802) OF PYNE'S "MICROCOSM" (LONDON: 1808)
Drawn and etched by Pyne; aquatinted and colored by Hill
Gift of Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball, 1957

Henry Pyne's *Microcosm* of the arts, agriculture, manufactures, trade, and amusements of Great Britain. Pyne himself etched the outlines of his superb representations before they were aquatinted—over six hundred groups (several to a plate) of small fig-

[6] Charles Dibdin, *Observations on a Tour through almost the whole of England and a Considerable Part of Scotland, in a Series of Letters addressed to a Large Number of Intelligent and Respectable Friends* (2 vols.; London: 1801, 1802). A copy is at NYPL. Of the 60 engravings, 40 were done from drawings by Dibdin and 20 were small vignettes "drawn and put on copper by Miss Dibdin." In his introduction Dibdin stated that "the aquatinta is by Mr. Hill."

ures engaged in various activities of English life. These beautiful hand-colored aquatints—the result of six years' work—display a fluidity of execution attainable only through a thorough knowledge of the medium. When published they enjoyed an immense success and found many imitators in England and France.[7]

The project required such close and prolonged contact between artist and engraver that Hill found it desirable actually to live with Pyne. His account book has an entry: "in this year [1801] I moved into M[r]. Pyne's house"; and there he remained a year or more, for in July 1802 he noted the discounting from his current engraving bill of Pyne's own bill for his board and lodging.

Hill may have married about this time and settled elsewhere, for his second child was born in 1803, and the growing family would have wanted the privacy of larger quarters. Hill's wife, born Ann Musgrove October 18, 1778, bore him in England three daughters and three sons, the last in 1815.[8] The Hills' only other known London home was one they occupied during 1812

[7] The *Microcosm* plates are all inscribed with the names of Pyne as etcher and John Claude Nattes as co-publisher. Though only 16 actually bear Hill's name as the aquatinter, he is given credit on the title page for the entire work. The title reads: *Microcosm: Or a Picturesque Delineation of the Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, &c., of Great Britain. In a series of above Six Hundred Groups of Small Figures for the Embellishment of Landscape: Comprising the most interesting Subjects in Rural and Domestic Scenery, in External and Internal Navigation, in Country Sports and Employments, in the Arts of War and Peace* (London: William Miller, 1808). A copy of this two-volume work is in the Art Room, NYPL. Some of Pyne's original drawings for the *Microcosm* are in the British Museum.

[8] Their eldest child was a boy, called John Augusta Hill, who died in England before the family came to the United States in 1819. Their second child was young Ann, born on February 6, 1803; then Catherine on March 16, 1805; Caroline on June 10, 1807; John William on January 13, 1812; and George on January 16, 1815. The names and dates of birth were entered by John Hill on a leaf at the beginning of the year 1822 in his American Account Book, cited *post*, note 25, owned by the NYHS. Ann, whose age would have been eighteen in 1821, when her father noted the fact in his diary, died in Europe as a result of burns after the other members of the family sailed for America. The Hills later had another child, Ann Hill, born in Philadelphia on March 31, 1820, who died on August 30, 1821. On September 20, 1820, Hill made note of a "Child Christened Charlotte" by the Reverend James Abercrombie, Assistant Minister of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. There is no further indication in his Account Book as to who Charlotte was. Hill had an elder sister, born on August 27, 1769, to whom he made occasional reference concerning letters which they exchanged after his removal to America. See also Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 41.

in Camden Town (or possibly Kentish Town) on the outskirts near the newly created Regent's Park.[9]

Some of Hill's early aquatint work, as in his plates for Angelo and Wigstead, was clumsy and only of passable merit, primarily because of over-biting and coarseness of grain occasioned by his utilization of a powder instead of a spirit ground for small plates. Where he used the finer spirit ground, however, as in the Dibdin vignettes and the Pyne miniatures, his work displays a delicate beauty characteristic of his best work. The early plates were mostly published in black and white, but before long his growing skill brought employment on plates of larger size which were issued in color.

Many engravings came from his workshop during the years when the shadow of Napoleon hung over the bloody battlefields of Europe. He aquatinted plates of pictures by Morland, Walmsley, de Loutherbourg, and Turner. He did scenes of Twickenham, views in Ireland and Italy, settlements on the African Gold Coast, studies of Lady Hamilton, and the imposing spectacle of Lord Nelson's funeral cortege on the Thames off Greenwich.[10]

Two cardinal facts emerge from any prolonged research into the artists and engravers of the early 19th-century English print

[9] For the presence of the Hills in either Camden Town or Kentish Town see the biographical note on John William Hill, in the folder on "John W. Hill," Ford Collection, Ms. Div., NYPL. In a letter to Gordon Ford, January 7, 1875, John W. Hill states that the family lived in one of the two above settlements, though "I think in Camden [Town]."

[10] J. Henry Hill, *John William Hill: An Artist's Memorial* (1888), 3. (Hereafter cited as J. H. Hill, *Memorial*.) A view of Twickenham on the Thames, engraved by Hill from a drawing by Augustus Charles Pugin, is reproduced in *The Connoisseur*, April 1956, p. 100. Hill billed Pugin for such a view on August 2, 1805. Two colored aquatints of the Danish settlement at Christiansborg and the British settlement at Cape Coast Castle on the African Gold Coast, engraved by Hill from drawings by G. Webster and published in 1806, were sold at auction at the Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, on April 21, 1956 (catalogue 1672, item 263). The view of Nelson's funeral, 1806, engraved by Hill from Pugin's painting, is reproduced in the book review section of the *New York Times*, Sunday, October 13, 1957, from an original print in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England. In 1957 Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball presented to The New-York Historical Society five colored engravings which were drawn and etched by John Augustus Atkinson, aquatinted by Hill, and published in 1808 by William Miller and James Walker. These five prints bear the following titles: *Recruits*, *Field Day*, *Halt of Troops*, *Suttling Booth*, and *Sepoys*.

world: their prodigiousness of output and their great interest in the life of their times. Many who had abilities to compose and etch designs also showed aptitudes for creative writing and publication. Plates, seemingly without end and of superb quality, came from their hands. Their capabilities, at times, seemed almost inexhaustible. Pyne and his *Microcosm* co-publisher, John Claude Nattes, were representative of this school, and Hill's association with these two men proved extremely productive for ten years.

Nattes was an Irish watercolorist of wild enthusiasm and violent temper, but a profuse and clever topographical painter whose works had artistic merit transcending mere accuracy. Hill was in the middle of his activity on the *Microcosm* in 1804 and 1805 when he took time to aquatint twenty-five coppers for a color-plate book illustrated with drawings by Nattes on the Somerset resort-city of Bath and its picturesque environs. These, in fine grain, are representative of the highest style of the engraver's art, and have been commended as the finest ever issued on that charming Palladian city.[11] In 1806–1807 Hill aquatinted sixty plates designed and engraved by Pyne and published in 1808 by William Miller as *The Costume of Great Britain*.[12] And between 1805 and 1810 he worked on another of his major projects: thirty-nine plates of Napoleonic Paris and its suburbs from drawings by Nattes, which, like the volumes on Bath and English costume, were also published by Miller in an album entitled *Versailles, Paris, et Saint Denis*.[13]

[11] A copy of the volume on Bath is in the Print Room, NYPL. The title reads: *Bath. Illustrated by a Series of Views from the Drawings of John Claude Nattes, with Descriptions of each Plate* (London and Bristol: William Miller and William Sheppard, 1806). In all, there were 30 plates in the book. Twenty-five were aquatinted by Hill and four were done by Frederick Christian Lewis, while the engraver of the title vignette is unidentified. Hill's Account Book, MMA, indicates that he billed Miller for engraving the Bath plates.

[12] Hill's manuscript account book reveals numerous entries in 1806 and 1807 for aquatinting "Plates of the English Costume after Mr. Pyne." These bills were made out to William Miller, the publisher. A copy of *The Costume of Great Britain*, designed, engraved, and written by William H. Pyne (London: William Miller, 1808) is in the Art Room, NYPL. The book does not identify the aquatinter, but Hill's association is apparent from the bills in his account book.

[13] The title reads: *Versailles, Paris, et Saint Denis: Ou une Suite de Vues d'apres des Desseins par J. C. Nattes, pour servir a l'illustration de la Capitale de France et*

The years 1807–1815 brought Hill into close contact with the noted London publisher Rudolph Ackermann, for whom Hill had already done a few incidental jobs in 1799 and 1800. Acker-

WADHAM COLLEGE FROM THE PARKS, OXFORD, 1813
Engraved by Hill after Pugin for Ackermann's *University of Oxford*
Courtesy of the New York Public Library

mann's greatest publications appeared during the period 1808–1810 when, coincidentally with his successful publication of the adventures of Dr. Syntax, he issued a series of 104 hand-colored aquatints of the streets and landmarks of Hill's native city under

des Environs avec une Description Historique (London: William Miller, J.C. Nattes, and Vandremeni, n.d.). A copy is in the Print Dept., MMA. Hill aquatinted 39 of the 40 plates, the lone exception being a view of the aqueduct at Arcueil which was engraved by Cartright. Of the 39, Hill aquatinted 3 in 1805, 11 in 1806, 6 in 1807, 15 in 1809, and 2 in 1810. Two other prints do not have a publication date indicated on the set examined in the Metropolitan Museum. They are all captioned in both English and French. He charged £4 4*s*. per plate for the aquatinting.

title of *Microcosm of London*. Originally published in monthly parts and later as a three-volume work, the engravings were an artistic collaboration between Rowlandson and Pugin, who scribed their compositions onto the plates and then delivered them to four of Ackermann's engravers for completion in tone. Hill, one of these four, aquatinted ten of the plates. The result was an unrivalled picture of Regency London.[14]

Ackermann's spectacular success with the *Microcosm* encouraged him to publish other works of a similar nature: in 1812, on the Abbey Church of St. Peter at Westminster; in 1813, on Moscow; in 1814, on Oxford University; and in 1815, on Cambridge University. Hill worked on three of these publications: aquatinting four plates for the Moscow work, eleven for that on Oxford, and two for the Cambridge history.[15] Between 1810 and 1813 he engraved various plates for the Earl of Essex of the Earl's Hertfordshire seat at Cassiobury. He did plates for a drawing book,

[14] A copy of the three-volume *Microcosm of London* (London: Rudolph Ackermann, 1808–11?) is in the Print Room, NYPL. Pugin bound in with his own copy of the *Microcosm* the original drawings which he and Rowlandson drew, together with some proofs before color was added, with pencilled notes by Pugin, Rowlandson, and Ackermann. Pugin's set of the *Microcosm*, once owned by Desmond Coke, was in 1934 in the collection of W. Russell Button of the Chicago branch of Arthur Ackermann & Son.—W. J. Burke, "Rudolph Ackermann, Promotor of the Arts and Sciences: With a Selected List of his Publications in the New York Public Library," *New York Public Library Bulletin*, XXXVIII (1934), 807–26, 939–53. The letterpress descriptions in the *Microcosm* were written by William Coombe and William Henry Pyne—author as well as artist. The figures were by Rowlandson and the architectural details by Pugin. The three engravers, besides Hill, were J. Bluck, who did over 50 plates; Joseph Constantine Stadler, who did 29; and Thomas Sutherland, who did 10. Hill's ten plates bear publication dates in 1808 and 1809. He charged £3 3*s*. per plate for the aquatinting.

[15] The Moscow work was entitled: *Historical Sketch of Moscow: Illustrated by Twelve Views of Different Parts of that Imperial City, the Kremlin, &c.* (London: Rudolph Ackermann, 1813). It has 12 fine colored plates, bearing the publication date January 1, 1813, but the names of the engravers are not indicated. Hill's connection is evidenced by his bill to Ackermann of November 26, 1812, for aquatinting "2 Plates of Views of Moscow," at a cost of £8 8*s*. The title of the two-volume Oxford history is *A History of the University of Oxford, its Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings* (London: Rudolph Ackermann, 1814), and of the two-volume Cambridge history, *A History of the University of Cambridge, its Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings* (London: Rudolph Ackermann, 1815). Copies are in the Print Room, NYPL. For the plates which Hill aquatinted for the Oxford history—from paintings by Pugin, Frederick Mackenzie, and Frederick Nash—he charged £6 6*s*. each, save for one of Exeter College, for which he charged £5 5*s*.

others of an "Egyptian character," and for Colnaghi & Co. some plates on ancient English costume. In 1812 he billed Dibdin for thirty more plates, and Pugin for two large ones of Highgate Archway, one priced at £20. That same year he also engraved five beautiful plates of the lush scenery of the Iberian Peninsula for George Landmann's *Historical, Military, and Picturesque Observations on Portugal.*[16]

During his later English period Hill engraved for Daniell, Havell, and Richards. He did views of Hyde Park, churches, gardens, shipping, the entry of the allies into Leipzig, and one of the naval engagement between H.M.S. *Endymion* and the U.S. frigate *President.* In 1815 he aquatinted fifteen of the thirty-six exquisite plates of the haunting beauty of the Low Countries for Robert Hills' *Sketches in Flanders and Holland.*[17] Finally, among the last of his English engravings, is one of Rugby School for which he sent a bill to Warwickshire early in June 1816.

[16] Some of the Cassiobury prints were owned in 1917 by Hill's grandson, John Henry Hill (1839–1922) (*Catalogue of Hill's Rockland Art Gallery at West Nyack, N.Y.*).

The NYHS owns two colored prints, etched by Atkinson and aquatinted by Hill from drawings by Charles Hamilton Smith, which were published by Colnaghi and Co. in 1812 and 1813. The titles are: *Military Costumes of the Reign of King Henry VI* and *Artillery, Warlike Machines, and Soldiers of the 15th Century.* They undoubtedly were some of the plates of ancient English costume cited in Hill's account book. The two colored aquatints of Highgate Archway, 1812–13, engraved from paintings by Augustus Charles Pugin, are cited on a page from an unnamed auction dealer's catalogue in the clipping file on "John Hill" in the Print Room, NYPL.

The full title of Landmann's published work reads: *Historical, Military, and Picturesque Observations on Portugal, illustrated by Seventy-Five Coloured Plates, including Authentic Plans of the Sieges and Battles fought in the Peninsula during the Late War* (2 vols.; London: Cadell and Davies, 1818). A copy is in the NYPL. The plates themselves bear the publication date 1813. Landmann stated in his preface that the views were engraved under his direction "by the most eminent artists." The engravers, besides Hill, who worked on them were J. Jeakes, Joseph Constantine Stadler, Havell, J. Ogborne, and J. Baily (Bailey).

[17] A copy of *Sketches in Flanders and Holland, with Some Account of a Tour through Parts of those Countries shortly after the Battle of Waterloo* (London: 1816) is in the NYPL. The other aquatinters who worked on this volume were Joseph Constantine Stadler, who did 11 plates; Daniel Havell, who did 9; and J. Bailey (Baily), who did 1 plate. The print of the engagement between the *Endymion* and *President* was published May 1, 1815, by Thomas Rickards in the Strand. Hill's account book indicates that he engraved various plates for Rickards in 1814–15.

II: PHILADELPHIA

The Beginnings of an American Career

Though well-established in England, Hill, now in his mid-forties, became conscious of a lessening demand for aquatints and of an unhappy feeling that future employment in his native land might prove insufficient to support himself and his family.[18] By 1816 his thoughts were turning to what he hoped would be greener pastures in America. His uneasy spirit was perhaps reflective of a trend, for other English artists and engravers were likewise migrating to the New World. The Hills must have discussed their problem for months before John reached a decision. Leaving his family for the present in London, he boarded a ship in 1816 and sailed toward new opportunities in Philadelphia.

The United States was then young and strong. She had just emerged from her second war with Great Britain. She had confidence in her strength and was spreading to the West. Her ports and commerce were thriving, her cities were growing. Philadelphia was her most populous city. For a time it had been the capital of the nation, and it was still a center of intellectual and cultural life and a leader in the publishing business. At least 500,000 volumes were reputedly printed there each year by fifty-one printing houses on a total of 153 presses. Though upwards of sixty engravers were busy in the city satisfying the demand for prints, it was vouched that "twenty more would find constant employment."[19] Probably this outlook was what decided 46-year-old John Hill to settle in the City of Brotherly Love.

When Hill arrived aquatint was still an undeveloped medium in this new land. Only a handful of engravers and artists—little more than a dozen—had occasionally tried their hand at it during the past fifteen years with varied results—good, bad, and mostly indifferent. They harbored no delusion that their work was all it

[18] J. H. Hill, *Memorial*, 3; biographical sketch in folder on "John W. Hill," Ford Collection, Ms. Div., NYPL.

[19] James Mease, *Picture of Philadelphia* (1811), 87; (1823), 87.

should be, and the Philadelphia magazine *Port Folio* reflected their diffidence when, in publishing a view in aquatint in 1811, it excused the technical inferiority on the ground that aquatint was a "mode of engraving new in this country." Nowhere was the quality of American work comparable to that of the trained English masters. It was left for Englishmen like Hill and William James Bennett—another of Ackermann's engravers who also migrated in 1816—to develop the art to perfection in America.

In the field of American aquatint Hill was to have virtually no serious competition during his period of activity. He was a fast worker whose results were superior in quality to his fellow aquatinters'. Not until Bennett, who had relinquished the art for at least a dozen years, reëntered the engraving field in the late 1820s would anyone appear who could challenge Hill's pre-eminence as an engraver in aquatint.

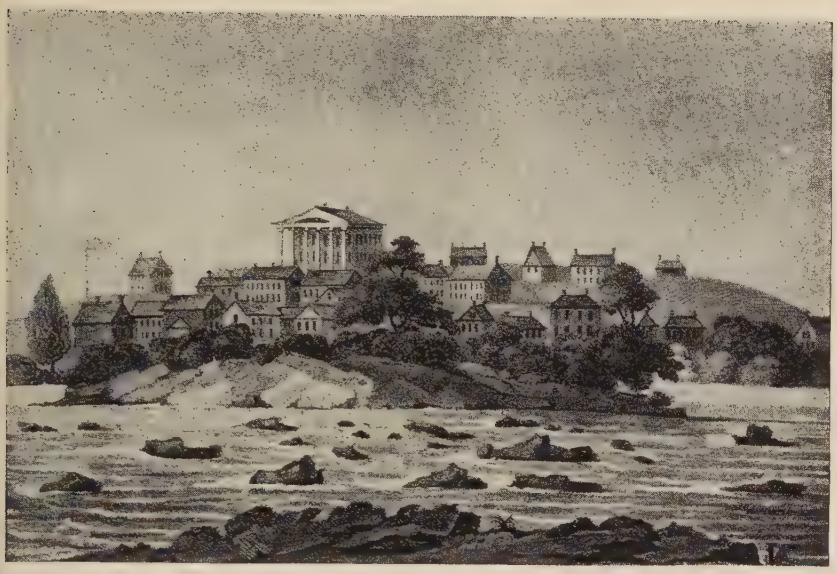
Landscape art, too, in America was only then in process of development. Until that time landscapists had been few in number, lonely, little noticed, and without consistent encouragement. While the years after 1800 saw a steadily increasing number of engraved landscapes in the magazines, separate landscape prints remained unappreciated in comparison with the popularity of portraits, military and naval prints, mechanical designs, and topographic views of buildings and cities. The sudden public approval of the Hudson River School which elevated landscape painting to respectability in the 1820s was still far off.[20]

[20] Among the early American engravers and artists who experimented with aquatint were Edward Savage (1799), William Rollinson (1801), John James Barralet (*c.*1806), Francis Kearny (1808), Abner Reed (1810), Samuel Seymour (1812), John Rubens Smith (1812), James Kidder (1813), Joseph Ives Pease (1814), William Strickland (1815–16), John Bower, Joseph Drayton, William Dunlap, William Hamlin, William Kneass, Bass Otis, and Francis Shallus. See the aquatint of the *Rapids of the Niagara Falls* and the accompanying comment in the *Port Folio* (Philadelphia), July 1811, p. 43. For a discussion of aquatint in America see Frank Weitenkampf, *American Graphic Art* (New York: 1912), 122*ff.*; F. Weitenkampf, "American Scenic Prints," in *International Studio*, July 1923, pp. 284–85; F. Weitenkampf, "Early American Landscape Prints," in *The Art Quarterly*, VIII (1945), 56–57, 59; F. Weitenkampf, "John Hill and American Landscapes in Aquatint," in *American Collector*, July 1948, pp. 6–8; E. P. Richardson, *Painting in America: The Story of 450 Years* (New York: 1956), 127–28.

Little is known of Hill's first three years in America apart from the plates which he engraved. The year 1817 offered him moderate encouragement. In that year two of his engravings—of the embryonic New York resort villages of Ballston and Saratoga—were published in sepia in a book on mineral waters written by William Meade. Yet most of his early American work was done for Moses Thomas, a delightful young bookseller of Chestnut Street who since 1813 had been publishing a monthly periodical, the *Analectic Magazine*, in which illustrations were a distinctive feature. Hill executed for it three small fine-grained views from drawings by Charles Fraser of Richmond, Virginia, Haddrils Point, South Carolina, and the Hudson River. Also in 1817 he engraved four circular aquatints of the Louvre, the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, and the interior of the Cathedral of Notre Dame to illustrate an English translation of Lady Morgan's *France* which Thomas was publishing.[21]

In 1818 Hill extended his talents to the popular field of drawing books when he aquatinted a dozen plates of floral pieces and leaves for a treatise issued by Thomas on *A Series of Progressive Lessons intended to Elucidate the Art of Flower Painting in Water Colours*. The publication of manuals of this type during the first half of the 19th century followed a similar trend in drawing books which had been under way in England since the later years of the preceding century and to which Hill had also contributed. Intended primarily for the instruction of genteel young ladies and gentlemen in the rudiments of drawing, perspective,

[21] Hill's views of *Ballston Springs taken from Aldridge's Hotel* and *Congress Spring in the Village of Saratoga* were engraved from drawings by Charles Alexandre Lesueur (1778–1846) and appeared in William Meade's *An Experimental Enquiry into the Chemical Properties and Medicinal Qualities of the Principal Mineral Waters of Ballston and Saratoga in the State of New York* (Philadelphia: 1817), opp. pp. 1 and 64. A copy is in the NYHS. Hill's view of Richmond, Virginia, appeared in the June 1817 issue of the *Analectic Magazine*, Haddrils Point in August, and the Hudson River in September. Hill's four illustrations for Lady Morgan's *France* are cited in M. Fielding, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (Philadelphia: 1917), 131, 133. The NYHS owns a copy of Thomas's edition of Lady Morgan's *France*, lacking illustrations. Another two-volume edition, of which the NYHS also has a copy, was published in New York by James Eastburn and Co. in 1817.



RICHMOND, SHOWING VIRGINIA STATE CAPITOL, 1817
Engraved by Hill after Charles Fraser for the *Analectic Magazine*
Gift of Captain Lawrence Timpson, 1919

and color, they contributed greatly to the awakening of a national consciousness in art and to the production of thousands of paintings which today are called primitives. Hill's engravings were somewhat placid in execution, due more to the restrained subject matter than to technical inferiority.[22]

In the May 1819 issue of the *Analectic Magazine* Hill displayed another engraving—this one of Joshua Shaw's view of York Springs in Pennsylvania. He also engraved that year a view of the *Tomb of Abelard and Heloise*, and sometime between 1816 and 1820 one of *Hagar Directed by the Angel to the Well*, and possibly another of the bombardment of Fort McHenry near

[22] A copy of Hill's drawing book of 1818 is in the Print Dept., MMA. In addition to the twelve aquatints, there was a 32-page essay in Thomas's publication, printed by James Maxwell. A second edition, identical with the first, was published in 1820 by Thomas De Silver of Philadelphia, whose printer was Lydia R. Bailey. See also C. W. Drepperd, "Early American Drawing Books," in *New York Herald-Tribune*, Sunday book review section, September 19, 1943.

Baltimore—an event of the recent war celebrated in "The Star Spangled Banner." But his most ambitious plate—a forerunner of the good work which was to follow—was a large colored aquatint published in June 1819 of the burning of the Masonic Hall on Chestnut Street.[23]

Though Hill's engravings during his first three-odd years in the United States did not in any way approach his great London output, he apparently felt that opportunities were better in America than they had become in his old homeland. Early in 1819, possibly with the beginning of his engravings for *Picturesque Views of American Scenery*, he saw sufficient evidence of a better future to bring his wife and four of their children from England. Their eldest son had died and their second child, Ann, remained with friends in France with intent to follow the family in four months. John and his wife never saw her again. Ann was still in Europe when her cap, catching fire from a lamp, burned her so severely that she died. In far-away Philadelphia, though, the bereaved parents found some consolation when Mrs. Hill, 41 years old, presented her 49-year-old husband on March 31, 1820, with another daughter whom they likewise baptized Ann.[24]

Hill's name does not appear in the Philadelphia directories for 1816–18. In 1819 he was listed at 10 Queen Street, and in 1820–

[23] The engraving of the *Tomb of Abelard and Heloise* appeared as a colored frontispiece aquatint in the Reverend Joseph Berington's edition of *History of the Lives of Abeillard and Heloisa* (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1819). The print of *Hagar Directed by the Angel to the Well* (Genesis, XXI:17), aquatinted by Hill from a painting by Herman Swanevelt, is cited in D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, II (1907), 227. The date of Hill's view of the bombardment of Fort McHenry is unknown, as there remains only an undated proof before all letters, printed in black and white, which is cited in the catalogue of the Grolier Club, *The United States Navy, 1776 to 1815*, an exhibition of American naval prints held at the club, 1942–1943, p. 97, item 173. Since the attack on Fort McHenry occurred in September 1814, it is uncertain whether this plate was engraved by Hill before or after his migration to America. The NYHS owns a copy of *The Conflagration of the Masonic Hall*, published by Kennedy and West of 72 Chestnut Street.

[24] J. H. Hill, *Memorial*, 3; J. Hill, Account Book, NYHS, April 1, 1820. The account of the decease of the two children in Europe is contained in the biographical sketch in the folder on "John W. Hill," Ford Collection, Ms. Div., NYPL. John Hill's elder sister remained in England, and during the succeeding years Hill made notations in his Account Book of his correspondence with her, directing his letters from America for delivery in the port of London.

22 at 111 Moyamensing Road. The Moyamensing listing, however, is not confirmed by the record in Hill's American account book and diary at The New-York Historical Society. Covering the years from 1820 to 1834, this volume throws interesting light on his life in Philadelphia, his friends, his engraving activities, and the people with whom he was associated in his work.[25]

The several houses in which he lived all seem to have been leased by the year. On April 1, 1820, Hill noted paying his $25 quarterly rent to a Mr. Spencer, but on June 16th he was paying a quarterly rent of $40 to a Mr. Caldcleugh.[26] These rentals may have been for the domiciles in Queen Street or Moyamensing Road, although in neither case did he specify the street or house in which he lived. On March 31, 1821, the Hills moved from Caldcleugh's to a house owned by a Mr. Handley at 290 Lombard Street, where Hill paid a yearly rent of $120 until he left Philadelphia in 1822.[27]

During their first weeks in Lombard Street, the Hills were busy fixing up their new home. A bricklayer was called in to do

[25] Hill's American Account Book descended in his family to his grandson, John Henry Hill of West Nyack, N.Y., who died in 1922. The latter still owned it in 1914 (I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, III, 567), but shortly thereafter it left his hands and on September 10, 1918, was presented to The New-York Historical Society by Samuel Verplanck Hoffman (1866–1942). Except where other sources are cited, the data for the years 1820–34 are based on this volume. It is a combination diary and account book. The diary covers the period from January 24, 1820, to December 30, 1822; the diary entries appearing on lefthand pages and the itemized receipts and disbursements on righthand pages. Though the diary ceases in 1822, Hill's bills and accounts are listed up to the year 1834, principally those connected with the *Hudson River Portfolio* and other engravings and coloring work which he did on some of his more famous plates in New York. A few pages have been ripped out, making it difficult to trace the complete story of some of his prints. In addition to the Account Book, Mr. Hoffman also presented at the same time 29 original sketches, watercolors, and engraved proofs executed by John Hill and his son John William Hill (1812–1879) from the Hill collection.

[26] This was evidently Robert A. Caldcleugh, gentleman, listed at 64 and 66 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. Hill's landlord Spencer cannot be identified, as several Spencers were listed in the Philadelphia directory.

[27] From his Account Book, we learn that Hill paid Spencer $100 a year in rent, and Caldcleugh $160 yearly. He usually paid his rent in quarter installments. In his entries of February 26, 1821, and April 3, 1822, Hill identified his landlord as "Mr. Hadley," but his other entries, which are in the majority, refer to him as "Mr. Handley." There was no Hadley listed in the directory for 1820. The only Handley listed was James, a hardware importer, who did business at 32 North Third Street and lived on the Old York Road above Callowhill Street.

repair work, the parlor was painted, cordwood was laid in, seeds were sowed in the garden, and a music professor came to tune the piano. Hill was engaged, not only in the engraving of plates, but, further, in the actual printing of them. He set aside a "printing room" for this purpose in his own home. There he installed a screw press which he had purchased for $20 in August 1820 from Charles P. Harrison, a Chestnut Street engraver and copperplate printer, set up his stove, fastened drying frames overhead, and neatly piled the blankets which he was to use in the press. He arranged on shelves and tables his bottles of linseed oil, turpentine, spirits of wine, and *aquafortis* for etching. He had at hand bismuth, resin, whiting, gum arabic, pumice stone, and a grinding stone, and into the drawers went his pencils, quills, and brushes. He unboxed his gallipots with his stock of powdered colors—red lead, Venetian red, rose pink, raw umber, chrome yellow, Paris and Spanish white, black, and Prussian and indigo blue. During the year he kept on the lookout for another press and finally succeeded in securing one in January 1822 for $100.[28]

Hill's meticulous account of expenditures affords an interesting picture of a proficient worker who strove hard to support himself and his family. The careful tabulations of his modest household disbursements reflect the slender financial means at his disposal during his early American years, but give evidence of the happy life of a close-knit and musically minded English family in new surroundings. There were purchases of dishes, glasses, soap, lamp oil, Scotch and Lehigh coal, cordwood, Irish linens, muslin, chairs, rugs, chamber pots, nails, brushes and brooms, and

[28] An indication of the character of the presses to be found in engraving and printing shops during this period is contained in a list of effects left by a deceased New York engraver in 1831, which mentions a copperplate press, two iron-screw presses, three lithographic presses, one iron lithographic press, and four identified only as presses. These were sold, second-hand, at prices ranging from $20 to $76.—S. D. W. Stephens, *The Mavericks, American Engravers* (New Brunswick: 1950), 61–62. In citing the above list from the Maverick shop, one must bear in mind that Hill seems not to have done any printing of lithographs, hence a lithograph press probably would not have been included in his own shop. But possibly he had more than the two presses mentioned in the Account Book.

a door bell. For the table, they brought in potatoes, cucumbers, apples, raisins, brandy and wine, cider and rum, a teapot and tray, peppermint, and flour for Mrs. Hill's wonderful pies and bread. The fact that his wife and daughters made his shirts and sometimes redyed and remade his coats may indicate a parsimonious streak in his nature or merely that the family had to watch its pennies. But Hill seems not to have stinted on wearing apparel, as can be seen by his purchases of trousers and cloth for vests, Florentine silk for waistcoats, and silk Manchester handkerchiefs. There were also hats and bonnets, night caps, shoes and boots, blue nankeen for son John's dress, a silk gown for Mrs. Hill, calico for shifts, and shawls, combs, fans, parasols, rings, and gloves.

His English background is evident throughout the book. The accounts were kept both in American and English currency. He and his wife corresponded with relatives and friends in London, and eagerly awaited the arrival of ships from the other side—especially the *Electra*, with whose captain and crew they were on good terms. In May 1820 he remembered to celebrate Whitsunday, and in November Guy Fawkes Day. And what could be more English and appetizing than their Christmas dinner in 1821 of turkey, pork, and pudding?

But while they looked back nostalgically to their younger days in England they were also sinking roots in their newly adopted land. The American friends they had in for tea and supper seem to have been mostly tradespeople, associates in the printing and engraving field, and various individuals in moderate circumstances. The Hills also visited about town, went to Peale's Museum, inspected prize cattle, and journeyed to the Fairmount Waterworks and the Schuylkill Falls. In September 1820 the children were taken to the Navy Yard to witness the launching of the frigate *North Carolina*, and in October Hill watched Charles Guille's balloon ascension. In November he subscribed to the paper *Patron of Industry*, and in 1821 to the *National Gaz-*

ette, then published by William Fry who had printed Hill's Ballston and Saratoga engravings in 1817.[29]

The Picturesque Views of American Scenery

In 1819, three years after his arrival in the United States, Hill undertook what was to be his first major work in the new country. The English artist Joshua Shaw, who had emigrated to Philadelphia in 1817 and whose York Springs view Hill had recently engraved, was preparing an album of three dozen large landscape illustrations for publication by Moses Thomas in several installments. These, entitled *Picturesque Views of American Scenery*, were to be aquatinted by Hill and colored by hand.[30]

Shaw was then in his early forties. He was by no means a great artist, but his advocation of a work of this nature reflected the devotion of the English to landscape art, and was also indicative of a developing American landscape school. Indeed, ever since the 1790s, when the English landscapists Guy, Groombridge,

[29] The family friends are mentioned in Hill's Account Book, but the identities of some are unknown due to his failure to cite their Christian names. Among the few who can be identified with certainty are: Samuel Scarlett, an artist and picture-frame restorer who lived on South Second Street; William Barber, a shoemaker of 307 South Front Street, who gave Hill a pair of shoes in March 1821 in partial liquidation of a debt; and I. C. Hommann, Sr., a music professor of 43 North Seventh Street, who tuned Hill's piano on July 10, 1821. The Hommanns and Hills became good friends, and in April 1822, just before Hill left Philadelphia for New York, John gave Mrs. Hommann two colored prints of Highgate and twenty other prints to her daughter Amelia. Hill also mentions a "Miss Tiebout," probably Caroline, the daughter of engraver Cornelius Tiebout, who accompanied her father to New Harmony, Indiana, in the winter of 1825–26. Other names encountered among his friends were Henry Myers, a copperplate printer, Mrs. and Miss Simmons (Symmons), Miss Jones, Mr. Latham and his sister, Mr. Duckett, Mr. Tooth, and Mr. Poole.

[30] The Philadelphia directory for 1819 lists "Joseph Shaw," artist, at 570 South Front Street. The artist William Dunlap saw several of Shaw's landscapes on exhibition in October 1819, and commented that his work was "good" and the "coloring like Loutherburg." Dunlap encountered Shaw in Norfolk, Virginia, in the following December while the latter was securing subscriptions for, as Dunlap said, his "American views, engraved by Hill." The letterpress descriptions which were to accompany the work, Dunlap continued, were intended for "a *Sentimental* Journey & very funny." Dunlap obviously took a dislike to Shaw, calling him "an ignorant, conceited English blockhead." In January 1820 Dunlap saw a specimen of Shaw's "intended Sentimental journey in prose & verse," enclosed in a letter asking for a loan of $50 or $100.—Diary of William Dunlap, in NYHS *Collections*, 1930, pp. 473, 501, 502, 508. 527.

and Winstanley came to America, the initiative in American landscape art lay largely in the hands of artists and engravers of English or Irish birth. Some, like Shaw and William Guy Wall, executed watercolors with the sole purpose of having color prints made, and consequently not all of the originals are necessarily interesting in their own right as paintings. In the second decade of the 19th century Americans were experiencing a widening interest in the natural wonders and development of their own country—an interest becoming more and more obvious in their literature and art.

During 1819 Shaw travelled through the country sketching and taking subscriptions for his *American Scenery*. The introduction to the First Number announced its object to be "to exhibit correct delineations of some of the most prominent beauties of natural scenery in the United States" and promised, if sufficient encouragement were accorded the opening issue, "to continue the series and to present to the public view most of those spots which are remarkable for their historic interest or natural beauty." The illustrations, each with a letterpress description, were to include scenes taken by Shaw in seven States, and a couple adapted from sketches by Captain Joshua Rowley Watson of the Royal Navy. Nothing like this had been attempted in aquatint before in the United States, and so such an ambitious project was a risky venture. The publication of prints in series often started with high hopes on the part of publishers only to be abandoned because of excessive expenses and public indifference.

Thomas's sponsorship of Shaw's work ended even before the prints were issued: in a day of short-lived magazines with small circulations, Thomas abandoned the publishing business in 1819 to specialize as a book auctioneer.[31] Before this happened Hill had

[31] Thomas had been dragged toward ruin in 1815 in the bankruptcy of the publishers Bradford and Inskeep, but he continued in business until after the publication of his four-volume edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* in 1818, which, the story goes, resulted in almost complete failure and in his decision to become an auctioneer in order to sell his own stock. Catalogues of the Thomas firm state that he commenced the auction business in 1821. The *Analectic Magazine*, which he had published, continued under his auspices through the June 1819 issue which announced that there-

already engraved a title plate bearing the date 1819 and Thomas's name as publisher, and he probably also started work on some of the scenes. The man who luckily took over the interrupted publication of the *American Scenery* was another Chestnut Street bookseller, Matthew Carey, an ebullient Dublin-born Irishman who once had worked in Benjamin Franklin's printing-shop at Passy, later entered the United States disguised as a woman, and eventually became a publisher, economist, and bank director. A master of vituperation, he was nevertheless a pious Catholic, a charitable man, and a warm-hearted friend of authors. He and his son Henry, with whom he was associated in the publishing business, had subscribers throughout the country and in Europe, and they were well equipped to assume responsibility for the publication of Shaw's landscapes.[32]

The prospectus printed in 1820 on the cover of the Second

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after the magazine would be underwritten by Edward Ingersoll, an attorney-at-law of 159 Walnut Street. The issues from July through December 1819 were published "for the proprietor" by James Maxwell, a printer and bookseller, who later took over the publication himself of Volumes I and II of the New Series, covering the period from January through December 1820. After that, Maxwell also ceased publication of the magazine. See S. T. Williams, *Life of Washington Irving*, I (New York: 1935), 140, and *passim*. A good account of Thomas's activities in the auction business is found in C. S. Brigham, "History of Book Auctions in America," in *NYPL Bulletin*, XXXVIX (1935), 82–83. Thomas died in August 1865 at the age of seventy-nine, which would indicate the year of his birth as *c.*1786.

[32] Each of the scenic plates of the *Picturesque Views of American Scenery* bears Carey's name. In the Print Room, NYPL, is a set with the rare 1819 date on the engraved title plate and the name Moses Thomas as publisher. The New York Public Library and The New-York Historical Society have sets with the date on the title page changed from 1819 to 1820 simply by coaxing the *19* into *20*, the lower end of the *9* still remaining in evidence.—F. Weitenkampf, "John Hill, Aquatinter, and his 'Landscape Album,'" in *NYPL Bulletin*, June 1920, p. 330. The *Picturesque Views of American Scenery* emphasized views along the coastal estuaries and inland waterways such as Hell Gate and the Hudson River in New York, the Passaic River in New Jersey, the Schuylkill River and Wissahickon Creek in Pennsylvania, Jones' Creek in Maryland, and Bolling's Dam on the Appomattox River in Virginia. There were scenes along the Virginia shore of Chesapeake Bay such as Norfolk and Lynnhaven Bay and Oyster Cove; a moonlight view near Fayetteville, North Carolina; and an illustration of the great fire in Savannah on January 11, 1820. For added interest there were two scenes relating to the War of 1812, depicting the spot where Major-General Robert Ross was mortally wounded near Baltimore in 1814, and the monument erected to the American dead in the Battle of North Point at the mouth of the Patapsco in Maryland. The two scenes painted by Shaw from drawings by Captain Watson were views of Washington's Sepulchre at Mount Vernon and St. Anthony's Falls on the Mississippi River.

HELL GATE FROM GRACIE MANSION, 1820

Engraved by Hill after Joshua Shaw for his *American Scenery*

Gift of Charles E. Dunlap, 1949

Number stated that the work would be issued in six numbers, each with six views and occasional vignettes, and that the price would be ten dollars for each number. The Third Number would be published in March and the succeeding numbers at intervals of three months.[33]

Contrary to the practice in England where the artist often scribed the outline of his design on the plate, leaving only the aquatinting to be done by the engraver, Hill had the responsibility of carrying the process to completion from start to finish. He secured his plates from Jacob Keim, a copperplate maker in Cherry Street, who proved so satisfactory that Hill obtained

[33] I. N. P. Stokes and D. C. Haskell, *American Historical Prints*, 102–3. In April 1820 Shaw was on his way back from the South, which he described as a paradise of riches. He obtained more subscribers for the *American Scenery* in Savannah after the fire in January than any other place in the United States.—W. Dunlap, *op. cit.*, NYHS *Collections*, 1930, p. 527.

from him all of his plates for Shaw's work, later one for his *Drawing Book*, and those for the *Hudson River Portfolio*.

The plates of the *American Scenery* varied slightly in size but averaged ten by thirteen inches. Hill spent approximately five months working on each set of six plates. His Account Book, starting early in 1820, does not list his engraving for the First Number, which must have been completed by the end of 1819. His first entry relating to the *American Scenery*, dated April 1, 1820, noted that he had begun to aquatint the first plate of the Second Number. In August he commenced tinting the sixth plate. As each plate was completed, Hill brought it to engraver Robert Tiller on North Third Street, who added beneath the illustration the title and the names of the artist, engraver, and publisher.

The supervision of the work was left mostly in Hill's hands. Carey furnished the paper and Hill printed many of the early impressions. The children, too, as they grew older assumed responsibilities commensurate with their age, and in March 1820 Hill recorded his payment of *4s. 6d.* to fifteen-year-old Catherine for her help in printing. It was not long, though, before the task assumed such proportions that Hill had to hire additional printers. In June and July he was assisted by William Green of South Front Street, and from August through January of 1821 by Charles Harrison, from whom he had purchased a press in August.[34] The two men were of great assistance, tugging, as they did, day in and day out, at the long spoke-like handles of the press to force the blanket-padded plates through the tight rollers. And a supreme thrill came each time a soft print was gently peeled from the copper and hung up to dry.

Hill's practice was to pull some impressions in black and white and others in light sepia for coloring. The number struck from

[34] Charles P. Harrison (1783–1854), who was born in England and was brought to America in 1794 by his father, became one of Hill's close friends in Philadelphia and in New York where both later lived. A good account of him is found in William J. Harrison, *Some Notes on the Harrison Family of Engravers* (reprint from the *Essay Proof Journal*, October 1946).

each plate apparently was five hundred, plus a few additional proofs which Hill forwarded to Shaw for coloring as guides for the colorists. He distributed the prints in batches to various colorists, including the landscapist Thomas Doughty, a Mr. and Mrs. Ward,[35] and Samuel Scarlett, native of Staffordshire who was then busy as an artist and picture-frame restorer on South Second Street. Hill's ability to color prints himself and also to assume direction for coloring was a great help in all of his work. Once the prints were colored, Hill sent them to Carey for sale and distribution, and at times boxed some himself for shipment to London.

Throughout 1820 Shaw continued to forward drawings to Hill. In September Hill ordered copperplates for the Third Number, and he finished engraving its last plate in January 1821. On January 18th he began tracing five drawings for the Fourth Number, and by the end of the month had finished etching all five.

The *Picturesque Views of American Scenery* which was to have included 36 plates in six numbers, never reached that goal. On February 10, 1821, when twenty plates, including the engraved title page, had been completed, Hill received word from Carey to proceed no further with the Fourth Number. Probably Carey's reason for this order was that sales had proved too few to cover costs or possibly that he simply wished to curtail his investment pending public reaction to the three numbers already issued. Nevertheless, the printing of the Third Number continued. Harrison, who had been assisting for two months, was let go, and on February 22d Hill personally undertook to complete the printing. The colorists finished the prints they had in hand, and on April 21st Hill delivered the last prints of them to Carey.[36]

[35] The Philadelphia directory for 1820 listed several people named Ward, but none in the artistic line. The best possibility among those listed was William Ward, an accountant and scrivener of 141 South Sixth Street, who might have turned his hand to the coloring of prints.

[36] A wrapper for the Third Number of the *American Scenery* in the Map and Print Room, NYHS, dated 1821 with Carey's imprint, lists the printer as James Maxwell, a bookseller and printer who had a shop at the corner of Fourth and Walnut

Hill saw Carey and Shaw several times during the year with regard to future prospects for the *American Scenery* and settlement of their debt for his work. His accounts reveal that he paid printers Green and Harrison out of his own pocket and later included their fees in his bills to Carey. In September 1820 Hill billed Carey for $287.73 for printing the First Number, and in December $300.00 for engraving the Second Number and $193.86 for printing it. In November 1821, when all possibility of reviving the work had vanished, Hill submitted a final bill to Henry Carey for $700—the balance still owed him for his work on the *American Scenery*.[37] Hill continued to hold some of the plates until April 1822 when, just before his removal from Philadelphia, he sent Carey the plates of the Third Number and the five etched plates of the abandoned Fourth Number.

The *American Scenery*, though never finished, was a milestone in American printmaking and its appeal was such that it was republished in 1835 by Thomas T. Ash in Philadelphia. It was a foundation book for American colored-plate publication, being the first publication in the United States of large colored landscapes essentially scenic in effect. Some of the untamed wilderness scenes were there depicted for the first time in stormy and melancholy moods foreshadowing the romantics of the Hudson River School. Handsome in execution and coloring, the *American Scenery* encouraged later artists and engravers to reproduce landscapes for sale. Lastly, and most important insofar as Hill was concerned, it directed attention to him as a master of the mysterious medium of aquatint wherein his American predecessors were by comparison mere dabblers. American printmakers and artists knew that now an accomplished man was available—one schooled in the tradition of the English masters, from whom they

Streets in Philadelphia. Maxwell was also the printer and publisher of the *Analectic Magazine* in 1819–20 after Moses Thomas had given up control. Hill's Account Book gives no indication that any of his engravings were printed by Maxwell, so it is presumed that Maxwell printed only the letterpress text accompanying the prints.

[37] Harrison's bill to Hill of October 18, 1820, for printing the Second Number of the *American Scenery* came to $98. Hill's own bill to Carey for printing this same number, as cited in the text, amounted to $193.86.

could learn much and who, for his own part, was eager for additional endeavors.

Hill's Drawing Book and the Beginnings of the Hudson River Portfolio

During the period 1820–21 while he was working on the *Picturesque Views of American Scenery*, Hill was also contemplating other projects. He discussed with Shaw the possibility of engraving a number of furniture plates, and with Carey the chance of publishing the latest adventures of Dr. Syntax and the *Costume of the World in Miniature*. He engraved a small plate for Fielding Lucas, Jr., a Baltimore bookseller with whom he was in occasional contact, gave an estimate for engraving some pictures by John Lewis Krimmel, worked on a few flower plates, and for $100 agreed to aquatint the plate of a church for architect John Haviland, if supplied with an etched outline. He did some work for Joseph Delaplaine, the author of *Delaplaine's Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished American Characters*, for which, in lieu of his $30 fee, Hill received six books, a print of Perry's victory on Lake Erie, and 120 engravings of portraits in the *Repository*.[38]

[38] On June 20, 1820, Hill sent five plates of flowers and a proof from each to Moses Thomas. On October 3, 1820, he etched a plate with the outline of flowers for Thomas De Silver. A copy of Delaplaine's *Repository* (two volumes in one), published in Philadelphia, 1815–18, is in the NYHS. The engravers' credit lines in the Society's copy do not mention Hill. The adventures of "Dr. Syntax," in which Hill manifested an interest, was another of Rudolph Ackermann's extremely popular London publications. During the period 1809–11 Thomas Rowlandson supplied Ackermann with a series of monthly plates depicting the varied fortunes of a touring schoolmaster, which were published in Ackermann's *Poetical Magazine* as the "Schoolmaster's Tour" with a letterpress supplied by William Combe. It met with immediate success and in 1812 was reprinted as the *Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque*. Two succeeding numbers, with plates by Rowlandson and letterpress by Combe, were published by Ackermann, entitled *The Second Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of Consolation* (1820) and *The Third Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of a Wife* (1821). All three—and especially the first—were highly popular and went through many editions. The first American edition was published in Philadelphia by William Charles, *c.*1817–19, with plates engraved after Rowlandson by, it is said, J. Drayton (*NYPL Bulletin*, 1913, p. 107). A copy is in the Print Room, NYPL, bearing title: *THE TOUR of DOCTOR SYNTAX in Search of the PICTURESQUE. THE FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE SECOND LONDON EDITION.*

While these were merely odd jobs or fruitless speculations, Hill also had in mind a more ambitious work: the engraving of another drawing book of landscape art from sketches he had made in England—an idea similar to the landscape manual which Fielding Lucas had brought out in 1815.[39] In January 1820 he purchased copperplates for the proposed book and in April he toyed with colored tints for the prints, but his preoccupation with Shaw's work prevented any serious concentration on the drawing book. Not until May 1821, after work ceased on the *American Scenery*, did Hill find opportunity to etch twelve plates, each quartered into four vignettes, unmistakably English in atmosphere, of cottages, barns, bridges, churches and abbeys, castles and mills, lighthouses, turnpike scenes, and ruins and rocks, for aquatinting.

In July he investigated the sales prospects for such a book in order to secure financial backing for its publication, but real progress towards fulfillment of this project hinged upon a larger one first mentioned in Hill's diary entry of August 24th: "Letter from Mr. Megarey, N.Y., about some large Plates."[40] At that

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Philadelphia. Published and sold by W^m CHARLES, N^o. 32 South third Street. On October 2, 1820, Hill noted in his diary that he secured several numbers of Dr. Syntax' latest tour from England by the ship *Electra.*

[39] Lucas's 1815 publication, with ten hand-colored, unsigned aquatints by William Strickland, was issued with the following title: *The Art of Colouring and Painting Landscapes in Water Colours accompanied with Ten Engravings Selected from the best Masters on those Subjects by an Amateur. Kneass Sc. Philad^a* [vignette, landscape, signed] *Philad^a W. Strickland del. & Sc. Baltimore. Published by Fielding Lucas Junr N^o 138 Market St. 1815.*—D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, II, 506. W. Bennett, *A Practical Guide to American Nineteenth Century Color Plate Books*, 69, also lists this title, and states that the title was engraved and signed by Kneass. See also F. Weitenkampf, "American Scenic Prints," in *International Studio*, July 1923, p. 284; and F. Weitenkampf, "Early American Landscape Prints," in *The Art Quarterly*, VIII (1945), 63. On March 1, 1821, Hill mentioned in his Account Book that Carey gave him a small drawing to engrave for Lucas. See also his entries for March 8th and 9th, wherein he noted that he engraved a small plate for Lucas for $6.00, and left the plate and proof at Carey's to forward to Baltimore.

[40] Hill had previously noted in his diary on June 26, 1821, that Thomas Wardle, an importer of English books on Minor Street, Philadelphia, "called about N. York plates," but this visit does not seem to have been connected with the *Hudson River Portfolio* which Megarey was contemplating, unless Wardle was making a preliminary inquiry on behalf of Megarey.

time Hill certainly could not have comprehended the full implication of this short entry, but it marked the beginning of a new phase of his career which would further enhance his reputation as an American engraver. The writer was Henry J. Megarey, a New York stationer who in conjunction with two associate booksellers, William B. Gilley of New York and John Mill of Charleston, had started publication of a series of landscape views known as the *Hudson River Portfolio*, the first plates of which had been partially engraved in aquatint by John Rubens Smith. In response to Megarey's letter, Hill went on a week's business trip to New York at the end of August to discuss matters relating primarily to the *Hudson River Portfolio*. Hill seized the occasion to enlist Megarey's interest in his own drawing book, and as a result sold his rights to Megarey and Mill for $600—receiving $150 in cash and a promissory note for $450. Megarey and Mill were to finance the publication. The printing and coloring was to be done by Hill.

When Hill returned to Philadelphia on September 4th, he found that tragedy had struck his household. His little daughter Ann, born in 1820 and ill before he left, had died on August 30th at the age of seventeen months and been buried on September 1st.[41]

Despite his loss, Hill quickly absorbed himself in work. With the backing of the New York and Charleston bookdealers, he personally saw the drawing book to completion. In September he designed a frontispiece illustration for the title plate, and this with the twelve plates already executed were sent for lettering to Charles Harrison. The title read: *Drawing Book of Landscape Scenery. Studies from Nature executed by I. Hill.*[42] Early in

[41] Dr. Thomas T. Hewson of 132 Chestnut Street attended little Ann during her last illness. The funeral expenses, including the coffin, came to $10.74. Hill states that she was buried "in Christian St between 4 & 5 St."

[42] Hill had secured the copperplates for his *Drawing Book* from two different dealers. On January 25 and March 29, 1820, he noted the purchase for $49.37 of eleven plates from a "Mr. Dobson," who may have been of the firm of Thomas Dobson and Son, booksellers and stationers, of 41 South Second Street, Philadelphia. The copperplate for the title page was secured in September 1821 from Jacob Keim for $3.25. Hill charged Megarey and Mill $20.00 for the design and engraving of the title plate. Charles Harrison's bill for engraving the lettering on the thirteen plates came to $12.00.

October Hill received from Baltimore a colored copy of Lucas's drawing book, which he probably intended to use as a guide for his own work.

Megarey forwarded reams of French paper, and in October and November Hill and his wife pulled the prints with the assistance of a Negro boy hired to work the press. The prints were colored by Hill and his daughters Caroline and Catherine, whom he paid $7.00 and $8.00 respectively, and the completed sets were then boxed and sent to Megarey in New York in December 1821. The *Drawing Book* proved popular, for in 1824 and 1825 Hill took time from other labors to print and color additional sets for Megarey, and in his own copy indicated the intention, apparently not fulfilled, to publish a second volume of twelve plates.[43]

Hill's Work on the Hudson River Portfolio in Philadelphia

The artistic achievement for which Hill is best known and the work on which he toiled longer than on any other of his life was the *Hudson River Portfolio*, a landscape series closely akin to the *Picturesque Views of American Scenery* recently finished for the Careys. In the summer of 1820 while Hill was busy with Shaw's work, a young Irish artist, William Guy Wall, then of New York, executed a number of watercolor views along the historic Hudson which Megarey, Gilley, and Mill had agreed to publish. The promoters realized that the project would be costly and that other publishers had speculated with disappointing results upon similar works. Nevertheless they launched the enterprise with enthusiastic dedication, announcing in their 1821 prospectus, printed on the inside cover of the First Number, that the

[43] A copy of *Hill's Drawing Book of Landscape Scenery* is in the Print Dept., MMA. In all, there were thirteen plates, including the aquatint title page. Some of the prints were struck in "black," some in "brown," and some "for coloring." For printing, Hill charged Megarey $4.00 per one hundred impressions, and 25¢ a print for coloring. D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, II (1907), 222, is the source for the statement that Hill hoped to issue a second part to his *Drawing Book*. Stauffer examined Hill's own copy in 1907, then probably owned by the latter's family, but presently unlocated.

Portfolio would contain twenty-four colored aquatints and be issued in six numbers of four views each, each number to sell for $16. The plates, they said, would be engraved in New York by John Rubens Smith, an English-born painter and engraver, and each would be accompanied by a letterpress description written by John Agg. In the title: *Hudson River Portfolio*, there is encountered for the first time as an artistic entity the name later affixed to the Hudson River School of landscape painting.[44]

Engraver Smith's association with the *Portfolio* came to an end even before he had finished engraving the four plates of the First Number. The reason for his withdrawal, not certainly known, was probably his inability to handle the work either to his own satisfaction or to that of the artist and publishers. The latter had announced that nothing would be spared to make the *Portfolio* equal to anything in Europe. A comparison between Smith's four plates—even as later finished by Hill—and Hill's own plates visibly indicates the relative crudity of Smith's work.[45]

With Smith out of the way, the three publishers were compelled to seek another engraver who could, if possible, save the plates which Smith had started and continue successfully with the other plates of the series. Hill's repute as an aquatinter had been established by his successful handling of the *American Scenery*, and Megarey's August letter was the result of their search.

When John Hill returned to his Lombard Street home in

[44] Agg's lengthy poem, *The Ocean Harp*, had been published in 1819 by Hill's former employer, Moses Thomas. For the verbatim text of the *Portfolio* prospectus see I. N. P. Stokes and D. C. Haskell, *American Historical Prints*, 106. On the back cover of a little pamphlet published by Megarey in 1821, entitled *The Wreath*, appears an advertisement stating that the *Hudson River Portfolio* was "now publishing," and the plates were to be engraved by J. R. Smith.—I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, III, 572. For W. G. Wall see L. E. Rowe, "William Guy Wall," in *The Magazine Antiques*, July 1923, pp. 18–22; and D. A. Shelley, "William Guy Wall and His Watercolors for the Historic *Hudson River Portfolio*," in *NYHS Quarterly*, January 1947, pp. 25–45.

[45] The Print Room, NYPL, has uncolored copies of two of the plates of the First Number, namely Plate 2 (*Junction of the Sacandaga and Hudson Rivers*) and Plate 5 (*Hadley's Falls*), which illustrate the vapid quality of Smith's work in comparison to the vitality of Hill's own plates.

Philadelphia on September 4, 1821, he brought with him one of Wall's original drawings to engrave.[46] The plates were to be the same size as Wall's originals—14 by 21 inches—considerably larger than those of the *American Scenery*. Hill secured a copperplate from Keim and six days later transferred the drawing onto the plate by means of tracing paper which he made with Venetian turpentine and burnt printing oil. On September 26th he began etching a *View near Fort Miller*, the first plate of the Second Number.[47] On October 13th he received by freight Smith's four unfinished plates of the First Number, but put them aside for the time being to work on his own *Drawing Book*.

In early November Hill aquatinted the Fort Miller plate, and started the completion of Smith's plates, which he finished early in 1822. Since Hill charged Megarey only $90 apiece for the execution of his own plates, his charge of $50 for finishing each of Smith's plates indicates that his work on the First Number was considerable. Even so, he was unable to improve Smith's plates enough to match the overall unity and cohesion of his own.[48]

[46] The NYHS owns eight of Wall's original watercolors for Plates 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, 17, 19, and 22 (later changed to Plate 18). It also owns an original watercolor variant by Wall for Plate 13 (*Hudson*) and one for Plate 16 (*West Point*). In the Society's collection are also two additional watercolors by Wall of unpublished Hudson River views, as well as a watercolor by an unknown copyist of Plate 22 (later changed to Plate 18), and a copy after an unlocated original Wall watercolor of a *View of the Highlands looking South from Newburg[h] Bay*. This subject is ably treated by Donald A. Shelley, "William Guy Wall and His Watercolors for the Historic *Hudson River Portfolio*," in *NYHS Quarterly*, January 1946, pp. 25–45. Wall's original watercolor for Plate 20 was formerly in the I. N. P. Stokes collection.

[47] The title is not indicated in the Account Book, but the fact that the lettering of the credit lines on this plate differs in style from that on the nineteen other published *Portfolio* plates indicates that the Fort Miller plate was the first on which Hill worked. This was originally numbered Plate 10, but later was changed to Plate 9. See the entry under date of December 2, 1822, in Hill's Account Book for making tracing paper with turpentine and oil. On February 19th and 20th of that same year he noted the tracing of one drawing in India ink and another in bismuth.

[48] Hill worked on the plate of Jessup's Landing during the period November 9–23, 1821. On December 17th he began work on the Troy plate, finished it on January 1, 1822, and six days later started work on the plate of Hadley's Falls. The Account Book no longer contains a record of his work on the Sacandaga plate, two pages having been torn from the volume covering the period when he worked on the First Number of the *Portfolio*. The plates of Jessup's Landing, Troy from Mount Ida, and Hadley's Falls were inscribed as *Engraved by I. R. Smith*, while two—Troy from Mount Ida, and the junction of the Sacandaga and Hudson Rivers—bore the caption *Finished by I. Hill*.

One of the perplexities encountered by many researchers into the publication of the *Hudson River Portfolio* is the sequence in which the plates were issued. The work was so meticulous that it took five years to complete, though only twenty of the twenty-four plates projected were actually issued. These, though numbered, were not published in consecutive order, and Hill continued to strike additional prints until 1833. In all, therefore, the prints were issued over a period of twelve years. Considerable speculation has been spent by iconophiles in attempting to determine the publication dates of the various plates. Frank Weitenkampf, former Curator of Prints at the New York Public Library, wrote in 1920 that the passing of *Portfolio* plates from publisher to publisher and the renumbering of some had caused them to become the "despair of the cataloguer." None of the published checklists were reliable. The true sequence in which the plates were originally issued can now be ascertained from Hill's own account book. Instead of appearing consecutively from one to twenty, they were brought out in this order:

First Number published 1821–22	Plate 3: *View near Jessup's Landing*
	Plate 2: *Junction of the Sacandaga and Hudson*
	Plate 11: *Troy from Mount Ida*
	Plate 5: *Hadley's Falls*
Second Number published 1822	Plate 10 (later changed to Plate 9): *View near Fort Miller*
	Plate 6: *Glens Falls*
	Plate 15 (later changed to Plate 12): *View near Hudson*
	Plate 22 (later changed to Plate 18): *View near Fort Montgomery*
Third Number published 1822–23	Plate 4: *Rapids above Hadley's Falls*
	Plate 1: *Little Falls at Luzerne*
	Plate 7: *View near Sandy Hill*
	Plate 10: *Fort Edward*
Fourth Number published 1823–24	Plate 8: *Baker's Falls*
	Plate 19: *Palisades*
	Plate 20: *New York from Governors Island*
	Plate 17: *View near Fishkill*

Fifth Number published 1825	Plate 13: *Hudson*
	Plate 15: *View from Fishkill looking to West Point*
	Plate 14: *Newburg[h]*
	Plate 16: *West Point*

It may be noticed that there were two plates numbered 10 in the original arrangement of the Second and Third Numbers, and two plates numbered 15 in the Second and Fifth Numbers. These mistakes were corrected in later issues, when Plate 10 in the Second Number was changed to Plate 9, and Plate 15 in the Second Number was changed to Plate 12. Plate 22 in the Second Number was changed by Megarey himself to Plate 18, probably when he decided to eliminate the sixth and last number.[49]

Hill's work on the First Number in 1821–22 consisted only of the engraving, as he had nothing to do with either the printing or the coloring, except for subsequently altering some colors after he moved to New York. The titles were engraved by Robert Tiller, who had done the same for Shaw's work,[50] and when he had finished, the plates were sent to New York where they were printed by Charles or William Rollinson and then colored by hand.[51]

After the First Number had been published, Megarey, Gilley, and Mill dissolved their short association, and the succeeding numbers were published by Megarey alone. Thereafter the

[49] The original publication of the *Hudson River Portfolio* covered the years 1821–25, but Hill printed and colored for Megarey additional impressions from the published plates until 1827. It is not known whether the corrections on all of the incorrectly numbered plates were made while Megarey still retained publication rights. Plate 22, certainly, was changed to Plate 18 while he was still the publisher, for the NYHS owns a copy of this print in its second state, marked Plate 18 with Megarey's name indicated as publisher. The change on the other two plates had been made by the time the *Portfolio* was reissued by the Carvills in 1828. Despite the renumbering, the numbers of some of Agg's letterpress descriptions do not correspond with the numbers of the plate to which they refer.

[50] Tiller charged $2.25 for engraving each title. See bill dated April 22, 1822, in Hill's Account Book, NYHS. On December 24, 1821, Hill noted that Tiller had lettered two of Megarey's Hudson River plates.

[51] The credit line on three of the plates records the printer merely as "Rollinson." Only two copperplate printers of that name were then working in New York: William (1762–1842) was probably the father of Charles (*c.*1793–1833) and the two worked together as engravers from about 1808 until Charles's death.—*NYHS Dictionary of Artists in America* (1957), 545.

VIEW FROM FISHKILL LOOKING TO WEST POINT, *c.* 1820

Plate 15, published 1825, of W. G. Wall's *Hudson River Portfolio*

Gift of Daniel Parish, Jr., 1889

whole procedure of engraving, printing, and coloring was placed entirely in Hill's hands. Megarey's trust in him was so complete that, even at a distance of eighty-five miles from the place of publication in New York, he was permitted free rein in his work.[52] Hill kept in touch with Megarey by mail and through the letterpress author, John Agg, who frequently travelled between New York and Philadelphia to handle some of the details connected with the *Portfolio* and the subscription lists for Hill's *Drawing Book* which had come out in 1821.

In February 1822 Hill finished engraving his *View near Fort Miller*—first plate of the Second Number—which he had started in September, and then it was also lettered by Tiller. The next day Hill received from Megarey three more of Wall's watercolors and also sheets of paper for printing. He ordered the plates from Keim,[53] and during February and March continued the

[52] Hill's bill for completing Smith's plates was paid by Megarey, Gilley, and Mill, but his subsequent bills for engraving, printing, and coloring the sixteen plates which followed were submitted only to Megarey.

[53] Keim supplied all of Hill's plates for the Second and Third Numbers of the

work. Megarey turned up in Philadelphia on March 27th and persuaded Hill to settle in New York. The *Portfolio* would require several years' more work, he argued, and opportunities for future employment certainly would be better in New York than on the Delaware. By the end of April Hill was ready to leave the city in which he had found his first American success in order to try his luck on the bank of the Hudson.[54]

III: NEW YORK

The Fruitful Years

The years during which Hill had struggled for success in Philadelphia had been only mildly remunerative. His resources dwindled during 1820–21. Entries in his Account Book indicate that his available cash on September 27, 1820, amounted to $327; on November 6th it was $258; and on June 12, 1821, only $192. By the end of 1821 his finances seem to have taken a turn for the better.[55]

April of 1822 was a busy month. Engraver Hill informed his landlord of his intent to move. He gathered packing cases and dismantled his press. He sent Carey the plates of Shaw's *American Scenery*, until then still in his possession. He and his wife and children exchanged last visits with their Philadelphia friends, promised they would write, and looked forward to the future. John left Philadelphia on April 23d in advance of his family in order to secure accommodations in New York. Seven drays of

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Portfolio at a charge of $13.69 per plate. He presumably also supplied the plates for the Fourth and Fifth Numbers. After Hill moved to New York in April 1822 Megarey seems to have assumed the responsibility of securing the plates. In December 1822 Hill mentioned having received two plates from Megarey, who in turn had obtained them from Keim, for the Third Number of the *Portfolio*. At the sale of the effects of Peter Maverick, New York engraver, in 1831, copperplate sold at from 2¢ to 3¢ a square inch.—S. D. W. Stephens, *The Mavericks, American Engravers*, 62.

[54] For Hill's work on the *Portfolio* while living in Philadelphia see his Account Book from August 24, 1821, to April 22, 1822.

[55] The yearly tabulations of Hill's accounts, which he recorded in English currency, indicate that in 1820 he received £194:18:10, and disbursed £108:12:5. In 1821, a better year, he received £216:8:7, and paid out £84:14:3. His accounts for 1822 were not totalled.

their belongings were carted to a coastal schooner tied up at one of the Delaware docks. He paid his passage fare of $2.50, and $1.25 extra for supper, bed, and breakfast, and sailed up the low-lying Jersey coast to New York.

The port he entered was the greatest in the country, and the city which fronted on it a growing metropolis with a population of more than 120,000 people. Much of it, from the Battery to the Park, had been torn down or burnt down, and everywhere it was being rebuilt in a more handsome manner. For eight days Hill boarded at Daniel Harker's stage house in Cortlandt Street near the waterfront while seeking lodgings which eventually took him two miles from the city to the village of Greenwich.[56]

In the 18th century Greenwich had been a suburban community of wealthy New Yorkers, but repeated epidemics of smallpox and yellow fever at the turn of the century and in the early 1800s resulted in a series of migrations from New York which gradually changed its status and added to its inhabitants. However, when John Hill set foot in the rural Greenwich streets it was still a straggling settlement connected to the city proper by stagecoach and dominated by the State Prison on the Hudson River shore and the new red-brick Episcopal church of St. Luke's-in-the-Fields.

Ann and the children left Philadelphia on May 1st, and on the following day John hired a carter to convey their effects to a house he had rented in Greenwich for $150 a year from John Quackenbos. The address was 72 Hammond Street, on the south side between Herring and Asylum Streets. Here they were to stay for the better part of ten years.[57] John's name, though, was

[56] Harker's bill for eight days' board amounted to $5.25.

[57] John Quackenbos, owner of Hill's house, was listed at 393 Greenwich Street in the directory for 1822. Herring Street was changed to Bleecker Street in 1829, and Hammond Street to West 11th Street in 1865. Asylum Street, originally laid out as Chester Street, and sometimes also known as William Street, took its name from the New York Orphan Asylum after it had erected its nearby building in 1807. The name was changed to the present 4th Street in 1833. Hill's house stood on the site of what is now 278 West 11th Street, the street numbers having changed since his time. The building in which he lived was already gone by 1851, as Doggett's *New York City Street Directory* for that year indicates the site as a "vacant lot." By 1854 a three-story brick house stood there. See William Perris' *Maps of the City of New York*, 1854, chart 68 of the Greenwich district, in the Map and Print Room, NYHS.

not recorded in the New York directories during the first two years of his residence. From 1824 through 1826–27 he was listed at "Hammond n[ear] Herring," and from 1827 through 1832–33, more specifically, at 72 Hammond Street. After that, he moved twice in the same neighborhood: first, to 10 Cornelia Street near Sixth Avenue, where he was listed in the directories from 1833 to 1835; and then to a two-story brick house which he purchased at 13 Tenth Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, where he lived from 1835 through 1839–40, but which he continued to own until his death in 1850. After his listing in the directory for 1839–40, Hill's name no longer appeared in the New York directories.[58]

The family immediately set about to make their Hammond Street abode as homelike as possible. They purchased new furniture, papered their hallway, set up stoves, stocked loads of pine, hickory, and oak, and planted their garden. In May their Philadelphia friend Charles Harrison visited them and helped John install his press, for here, as in the Quaker City, he established his workshop in his own home. By 1823 Harrison, too, settled in New York.

Many of Hill's comments in his diary for 1822 concerned his work with the *Portfolio*, but there was also much of a personal nature relating to his pleasant family life. The family loved company, exchanged visits and had tea with their new friends in New York, and corresponded with their relatives and friends in England and Philadelphia. On Sundays a five-minute walk took them to the newly consecrated church of St. Luke's on Hudson Street, where John rented a pew.

He subscribed to the new newspaper *Albion, or British, Colo-*

[58] The Perris Maps, 1854, chart 59, indicate that the present location of 10 Cornelia Street, between Sixth Avenue and Bleecker Street, is identical with the 19th-century location occupied by Hill. At the time of Hill's purchase of 13 Tenth Street, the street numbering started at Sixth Avenue and ran eastward, contrary to the present numbering which starts at Fifth Avenue and runs westward. See the Perris Maps, 1854, chart 66, and later issues of the New York insurance maps in the Map and Print Room, NYHS. After Hill's death in 1850 the house continued to be occupied by his daughter Catherine and her husband, Peter Maunder. The building was listed as 13 Tenth Street until 1865–66, after which it became 55 West 10th Street, still the number of the site, although the building is now gone.

nial, and Foreign Weekly Gazette, published in New York, which devoted its columns to news of the Empire and his old homeland. He kept his eyes open for a bargain, even if it meant ordering from England to save a trifling sum, as instanced by a notation in September that his purchase of certain unspecified "Articles," just received from London for £26:3:2, had saved him £1:6:10 of what the cost in New York would have been. On September 9th he noted in his diary that it was "My Birth day Aged 52 Years."

The Hills were barely settled when one of New York's worst epidemics paralyzed the city in the fever months of August and September of 1822. Thousands of terrified refugees swarmed into Greenwich. Many paid extravagant rents wherever there was room. Others lived in tents in the fields. People with hammer and saw were busy everywhere erecting makeshift structures along the dusty streets. Banks, insurance companies, newspaper offices, merchants, shopkeepers, and tradesmen set up temporary quarters, and so, too, did the coffee-houses, the grog and soda-water shops and even the Custom House and Post Office.

Hill's thrifty nature made the most of the opportunity, and he was able to clear more than an entire year's rent by leasing his front parlor for $80 to fugitives from the city, his front kitchen for $50, and two rooms on the first floor for $80. Megarey himself was stricken, but recovered.[59] Greenwich resembled the breaking up of an army camp when the fever abated and people moved back to New York in October, but it no longer was a country suburb after 1822 and many residents remained to help it become an integral part of the growing city.

In 1825, Hill, still living in Hammond Street, sketched the interesting view which he saw so often from his second-floor

[59] Hill agreed to rent his parlor on August 13th to Henry DeGroot of the Pearl Street merchant firm of DeGroot and Weeks. DeGroot deposited $30 as a down payment, with a proviso to pay $50 additional if he occupied the chamber during the fever period. Hill visited Megarey on August 24th, and that same day leased his front kitchen for $50 to Richard Calrow, a Wall Street tailor and dealer in fabrics, and two rooms on the first floor to David Adee of 2 Cliff Street for $80. Hill received a total of $110 from DeGroot on October 28th, $80 from Adee on November 2d, and $50 from Calrow with a 30¢ additional charge for "tumblers."

"VIEW FROM MY WORK-ROOM WINDOW IN HAMMOND ST. BY I. HILL 1825"
The only known wash and pen-and-ink drawing by Hill extant
Edward W. C. Arnold Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art on loan at the Museum of the City of New York

workroom window. It was a wash drawing executed in the fine meticulous style one would expect of an expert engraver, showing in the distance the green fields and rural scenery of the Greenwich countryside and in the immediate foreground several buildings adjacent to his own. But what was perhaps the most interesting touch was the backyard scene almost directly beneath where he sat. Wash hangs from a line and a woman is seen scattering seeds to a little flock of hungry chickens who cluster at her feet. Might not this lady with cap on head perhaps be Mrs. Ann Hill or one of their daughters, Catherine or Caroline?

Hill's Work on the Hudson River Portfolio in New York

In May and June of 1822 Hill busied himself with altering the color on some prints of the First Number of the *Portfolio*, appar-

ently in order to satisfy Wall's specifications, for Wall had come to inspect the work on May 14th. With these first prints out of the way, Hill concentrated his talents on the engraving, printing, and coloring of the remaining *Portfolio* plates and prints. His diary is replete with references to his work on the Second and Third Numbers throughout the remainder of 1822. Thereafter the story of the remaining two numbers has to be pieced together from bills entered in his Account Book.

As soon as the plates were finished, Hill brought them to Megarey who saw to it that they were lettered.[60] It is interesting to note that all members of the Hill family who were old enough assisted in the work. Mrs. Hill, her arms strong from pulling the impressions of the *American Scenery* and *Drawing Book*, performed much of the printing, while daughters Caroline and Catherine colored the prints. Work on the Third Number continued into 1823, on the Fourth Number from 1823 into 1824, and on the Fifth Number in 1825. The projected Sixth Number was never issued, and the *Hudson River Portfolio*, like Shaw's *Picturesque Views of American Scenery*, is known to the print world only in an incomplete state.[61]

Financially speaking, things were beginning to look better for Hill after his removal to New York. On December 1, 1822, shortly after witnessing the city's yearly Evacuation Day celebration commemorating the withdrawal of British troops from the city in 1783, he recorded a tidy sum in hand of $868. Various

[60] Hill does not cite the engraver of the titles after he moved to New York. The assumption is that Megarey boxed the plates and forwarded them to Robert Tiller in Philadelphia, or possibly to Charles Harrison, then in New York. The *Commercial Advertiser*, July 2, 1823, refers to the *Hudson River Portfolio* as then "publishing by Mr. Megarey." At that time Hill had just finished work on the Third Number. See I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, III, 572.

[61] There is no way of ascertaining the number of impressions struck by Rollinson from the First Number of the *Portfolio*, as Hill's accounts do not cover the printing of that issue. Two hundred impressions were struck from each of the four plates of the Second Number and from the first plate of the Third Number. The remaining three plates of the Third Number had only one hundred prints taken from each plate. The number of impressions of the Fourth Number is hard to determine, as the prints seem to have been struck sporadically at different dates. The Fifth Number had one hundred impressions taken from each of the four plates. The above, of course, refers only to the first printings. In later years Hill printed and colored many additional prints from the *Portfolio* plates.

details of his prices can be ascertained. Hill charged $50 apiece for completing Smith's four plates, and $90 apiece for his own sixteen *Portfolio* plates. He charged $12 for printing one hundred impressions, and 50¢ or sometimes 62 ½ ¢ per print for coloring. For coloring one set of four prints his charge was $2.25. Between 1821 and 1833, when his *Portfolio* accounts cease, Hill earned approximately $5,000 for his work on that publication—the engraving alone bringing in $1,640. He submitted his bills to Megarey periodically, but the publisher, sometimes short of ready cash, occasionally paid with promissory notes.[62]

Between 1825 and 1827, after the five numbers had been published, Hill printed and colored many additional *Portfolio* prints for Megarey from the twenty plates which had been issued. By the end of 1827 the vagaries of the publishing business proved too much for Megarey and he placed his affairs in the hands of an assignee. In December Hill submitted a bill still pending of $1,040 to the assignee, but nothing came of it until 1828, when publication rights to the *Portfolio* were transferred to G. & C. & H. Carvill, proprietors of a bookshop on the corner of Broadway and Pine Street. The Carvills settled Megarey's account with Hill for $850, and Hill's additional $14 bill for a lawyer's fee. Megarey, however, was soon back in the publishing field, and Hill worked for him on other plates.

The *Portfolio* was eminently appreciated, and Hill continued his work under the auspices of the Carvills. They had their names added to the credit lines, the mistakes in numbering of Plates 10 and 15 were corrected, and between 1828 and 1833 Hill struck and colored numerous additional prints for the new publishers.[63]

[62] On July 13, 1822, Hill lent Megarey $150 in order to take up his own note for $297. In his scholarly treatise on *The Mavericks, American Engravers,* Stephen DeWitt Stephens cites (p. 63) a few prices charged by another New York engraver in 1822, Peter Maverick, for engraving and printing a plan of the University of Virginia, size 16.6 by 18.10, which afford an interesting comparison with Hill's prices. Maverick charged $112 for engraving the plate, $25 for printing 250 impressions, $12 for paper used, and $1 for boxing and carting. For a résumé of Hill's prices see note 67, *post.*

[63] Following the original publisher's credit line of *Published by Henry I. Megarey*

Hill's prints sold by the thousands. The widespread popularity of these and other published landscape views was undoubtedly a factor in focusing the attention of the American public upon the rising painters of the American landscape school—though its members could scarcely think of themselves at that time as an organized group. Landscape art in the form of prints was being brought into the home and offered to a public which might not otherwise see an original painting. Not only that, but the *Portfolio* probably also served to direct attention to the Hudson River country soon to figure in so many paintings of the 19th-century landscapists.

Wall's watercolor style was basically topographic—a restrained technique of carefully calculated brushstrokes then generally accepted in work of this nature. Though Wall was not regarded as an important artist, his original paintings were much admired between 1826 and 1828 in the exhibitions of the newly formed National Academy of Design. The *Hudson River Portfolio,* like the *American Scenery*, was an important event in American graphic art. The plates are certainly the best known and most sought-after of 19th-century Hudson River views. The August 1826 issues of the *New York Daily Advertiser* carried notices of a lottery at which the prizes would be two copies of the *Portfolio,* and the announcement described the series as an elegant, splendid, and "superb collection" of which "very few copies" remained unsold at that time. No less an authority than I. N. P. Stokes described the series as the "finest collection of New York State views ever published."[64]

New York, the Carvills added the words *and transferred to G. & C. & H. Carvill, New York.* The numbering on Plate 18, originally designated as Plate 22 in its first state, had been corrected by Megarey himself before he relinquished publication rights. In March 1829 Hill billed the Carvills $200 for repairing the four plates of the First Number, which indicates how well used they must have been.

[64] *New York Daily Advertiser*, August 12, 14, 1826; William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York: 1834), II, 321; I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island,* III, 574, 575; Frank Weitenkampf, "The Steel Plate in American Art," in *American Collector,* September 1947, p. 20.

Fame Comes to John Hill

The 1820s and 1830s were the great age of American aquatint. The *Hudson River Portfolio* placed Hill among the foremost of American engravers, and as years passed a succession of other beautiful prints came from his Greenwich establishments. Even while working on the *Portfolio* he found time to engrave other large plates of a superb quality and smaller ones for book illustration, and to strike and color new prints for his *Drawing Book*.

He engraved a view of the Fairmount Waterworks in Philadelphia, and in 1823 one of the Methodist Church in John Street.[65] Also in 1823 he aquatinted from drawings by Wall two famous views of New York which the artist published independently of the *Portfolio:* the views, respectively, from Brooklyn Heights and from across the Hudson at Weehawken.[66] These were dedicated to a New York merchant, Thomas Dixon, who generously paid the engraving bill. Though two of the most charming 19th-century views of New York, they are essentially landscapes in which the distant metropolis forms but a small segment of a handsome rural scene.

[65] This colored aquatint, engraved from a drawing by Joseph Smith, was published in 1824 as the frontispiece of *A Short Historical Account of the Early Society of Methodists Established in the City of New York in the Year 1763* (New York: 1824). This plate, for which the engraver was heretofore unknown, is identified as Hill's work from the entry in his Account Book, NYHS. A copy of the published treatise is in the NYHS.

[66] These views are reproduced as used by Andrew Stevenson in the 1820s on two Staffordshire platters in Arthur H. Merritt, "This Amazing America," *NYHS Quarterly*, April 1957, pp. 142, 159. The original watercolors of them are in the Edward W. C. Arnold Collection owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on loan to the Museum of the City of New York. It has been suggested that, though Wall issued these views separately in 1823, they were originally intended for inclusion in the *Portfolio*. But the existing Wall drawings for the *Portfolio* average 14 by 21 inches, whereas the views of New York from Brooklyn and Weehawken are 15 ¾ by 25 ⅛ inches in size. The prints of them are also larger than those of the *Portfolio*. In the *Commercial Advertiser* for June 26, 1823, Wall announced the proposed publication of these two views, and that "an artist of known and approved skill" had been engaged for the engraving. The original drawings could be seen at that date at Megarey's bookstore at 96 Broadway, "or at Mr. Hill's engraver, Hammond-st. Greenwich." Wall stated that the prints would probably be ready for delivery in August. The *Commercial Advertiser* of July 2d reported that "the work is so far advanced that one of the plates is compleated."—I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, III, 578.

In 1826 Hill engraved for the bookdealers Charles Behr and Frederick Kahl, also from a Wall drawing, a large plate of the New York City Hall which has been justly praised as the finest engraved view ever published of that building. In 1827 he engraved, printed, and colored a plate of the DeKalb Monument at Camden in South Carolina, and in the following year two elegant plates of the United States Military Academy at West Point from drawings by George Catlin, a New York artist who would soon devote his life to compiling a monumental pictorial record of the North American Indian.[67]

Hill's interest in book illustration is evidenced in eleven small aquatints which he engraved in 1824 for William Keating's published account of the Long expedition to the sources of the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River and the northern boundary of the United States. These interesting engravings of scenic landmarks and Indian life on the rim of the Dakota country and in the Winnipeg wilderness were reproduced from drawings by Samuel Seymour, a pioneer artist of the Western Plains who accompanied the expedition. Published in black and white and somewhat somber compared with Hill's other work, these engravings rep-

[67] Copies of the prints of the New York City Hall, the DeKalb Monument, and the West Point views are in the Map and Print Room, NYHS. Hill's plate of the City Hall not only was one of his finest, but also the most expensive insofar as his fee was concerned. His Account Book, NYHS, cites the prices which he charged for engraving various plates:

Hudson River Portfolio	
For completing J. R. Smith's four plates, 1821–22	$ 50.00 per plate
For engraving sixteen complete plates, 1822–25	90.00 per plate
New York from Heights near Brooklyn, 1823	150.00
New York from Weehawk [Weehawken], 1823	150.00
A Correct View of the Old Methodist Church in John Street, 1823	40.00
New York *City Hall*, 1826	200.00
The plates for Lucas's *Progressive Drawing Book*, 1827–28	15.00 and 20.00
West Point Military Academy (view north), 1828	155.00
West Point Military Academy (view south), 1828	155.00
Niagara Falls: The American Fall from the Foot of the Staircase, 1829	100.00
Niagara Falls: The British Fall from under Table Rock, 1829	100.00

It must be borne in mind that the above are only the prices for engraving. Printing and coloring was extra. Hill's Account Book does not indicate the engraving fees charged for other plates he made.

resent an unexpected facet to his work and reflect America's growing interest in her Western lands.[68]

Among the least known and loveliest of Hill aquatints were the nineteen plates he executed in 1827–28 for Fielding Lucas's *Progressive Drawing Book*, a fine publication brought out in Baltimore with a serious text on landscape drawing and color and with illustrations aquatinted from drawings by one E. van Blon. Two of the plates were engraved titles, several were of a mill near Marlborough in Maryland, and scenes along the Juniata and Susquehanna Rivers in Pennsylvania and Maryland. Another portrayed ships in a breeze, and the remainder views near Baltimore and along the storied Hudson and Mississippi Rivers.[69]

In 1829 Hill engraved, printed, and colored two plates of Niagara Falls for Megarey from paintings by William James Bennett, who was finally coming into his great period of American activity. Bennett was Hill's closest rival: though the quantity of his American output never equalled Hill's, he alone possessed the skill to surpass Hill as an aquatinter. These two Englishmen-turned-American represent the acme of aquatinting in the United States.[70]

[68] A copy of this work is in the Rare Book Room, NYPL. The title reads: William Hypolitus Keating, comp., *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, &c. &c., performed in the year 1823 by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under command of Stephen H. Long, Major, U.S.T.E.* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: 1824). A London edition published in 1825 has Seymour's drawings engraved by R. Fenner. For an interesting account of Seymour see J. F. McDermott, "Samuel Seymour: Pioneer Artist of the Plains and the Rockies," in *Annual Report*, Smithsonian Institution, 1950, pp. 497–509.

[69] A copy is in the Spencer Collection, Print Room, NYPL. This was Lucas's second endeavor in the field of drawing books, his previous one having been published in 1815. See note 39, *ante*. Hill sent one of his bills to Lucas by post in October 1827 with proofs from some of the plates "rolled on [a] small stick."

[70] The two Niagara Falls plates which Hill engraved for Megarey in 1829 from Bennett's paintings depict the American falls from the foot of the staircase, and the British falls from under Table Rock. Copies are in the Map and Print Room, NYHS. Megarey also published in 1829–30 two other views of Niagara Falls from Goat Island—one of the American Fall and the other of the British Fall—which were engraved as well as painted by Bennett, but Hill was also connected with them as a printer and colorist. On February 4, 1831, Megarey had Hill sign an agreement whereby Megarey transferred the two Niagara Falls plates which Hill had engraved—and retained in his possession—to Charles H. Harison, a Nassau Street counselor. The plates were to remain with Hill subject to Harison's orders, except in case of printing, when instructions were to come from Megarey. A similar agreement was also signed the same day by Peter Maverick, engraver and printer, who was holding

Continued demand for the *Hudson River Portfolio*, for the two separate Wall views of New York, and for Catlin's West Point plates kept Hill busy for years supplying additional prints to their new publishers. In 1828 the Wall views of New York were republished by George Melksham Bourne, and in the same year G. & C. & H. Carvill purchased the *Portfolio* plates, and in 1829 they took over the Wall views from Bourne and secured the West Point plates. As a result, between 1828 and 1834, first for Bourne and then for the Carvills, Hill pulled and colored a large number of prints from these twenty-four plates which brought in considerable money. The two New York plates were used to such an extent that Hill had to repair both of them.[71]

He also did engraving and coloring work for the New York engravers Raphael Schoyer and Illman and Pilbrow; for the lithographers Chanon and Desobry; and for individuals who sometimes ventured to finance print publication.[72] In some cases

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Megarey's other two Niagara Falls plates engraved by Bennett. This transfer of the four plates by Megarey was probably intended to secure a debt and therefore to be temporary. Two days later Megarey signed a promissory note for $200 which he owed Harison. See the agreements signed by Hill and Maverick, February 3, 1831, and Megarey's note to Harison, February 5, 1831, in Miscellaneous MSS, NYHS.

[71] The publisher's transfer lines on the two Wall views of New York from Brooklyn and Weehawken, and also on the two Catlin plates of West Point, were engraved by Hill's friend, Charles P. Harrison. Hill was paid in cash, by check, or by promissory notes which sometimes had to be extended. Parker and Clover settled Hill's bill of October 25, 1833, by endorsing to him a promissory note of John Disturnell, a book and print dealer at 155 Broadway. On May 6, 1830, Hill billed the Carvills for repairing the plate of New York from Brooklyn, and on March 24, 1834, for repairing the plate of New York from Weehawken. The number of satisfactory prints which could be struck from a copperplate was limited due to the soft quality of the metal.

[72] For Chanon and Desobry in 1828 Hill colored prints of a piano-forte and a tailor's pattern, and some of Bourne's shop on Broadway. For Megarey in 1828 he colored patterns of a plate of Fulton Market, and in 1830 a couple of new Niagara Falls views engraved by Bennett. In 1831 he aquatinted a couple of plates for Schoyer of the *Sly Drop* and *Marriage*. The plate which he engraved for Illman and Pilbrow is entitled *New Haven, Conn. Comprising a View of the Episcopal & Presbyterian Churches, State House and Yale College*. The credit caption on the plate states that it was drawn, engraved, and published by Illman and Pilbrow, but Hill was paid for making alterations on the plate, and he later printed and colored impressions from the plate. A copy of the New Haven print is owned by the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Hill's plate of *Matteawan Manufacturing Village, Near Fishkill Landing. N. York* was engraved, printed, and colored by him from a drawing by Dr. Neely, who also was the publisher in June 1832. A copy is in the Map and Print Room, NYHS.

he aquatinted plates already etched in line, such as a memorial to Governor DeWitt Clinton which he aquatinted in 1828 for his friend Charles Harrison, and Thomas Hornor's Broadway plate of 1836 and Hornor's plate of the City Hall and Park.[73] Another

BROADWAY, LOOKING NORTH FROM CANAL STREET, C. 1834
Aquatinted by Hill, drawn and etched by Thomas Hornor, published 1836
Gift of Joseph F. Loubat, 1897

of Hill's previously unknown commissions was the coloring, 1829–31, of the prints for ten of the seventy-six ornithological illustrations accompanying a new edition of Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology* published by Joseph B. Collins and Harrison Hall. Wilson's work was a pioneer treatise of outstanding

[73] An uncolored print of the DeWitt Clinton memorial, which Hill aquatinted for Harrison in 1828, is in the Map and Print Room, NYHS. The Hornor view of *Broadway, New-York, 1836,* is well known, and copies are also in the collection of the NYHS. Hornor's unfinished drawing of the City Hall and Park, *c.*1837, was in the collection of I. N. P. Stokes in 1928, and is reproduced in his *Iconography of Manhattan Island,* VI, Plate 98-a. Stokes (III, 616–17) mentions an unfinished proof of this view, drawn by Hornor and aquatinted by Hill, which was owned in 1918 by John Hill's grandson, John Henry Hill (1839–1922) of West Nyack, N.Y.

merit which, at first publication, antedated by nearly two decades the magnificent folios of John James Audubon.[74]

Between 1831 and 1834 Hill did considerable coloring work for the Fulton Street carvers and gilders, John Parker and Lewis P. Clover, who fostered the publication of many of Bennett's prints. Hill handled the coloring of Bennett's popular *View of West Point from Phillipstown*[75] and some prints of Bennett's *View of the New York Quarantine, Staten Island*. He colored a few impressions of Hugh Reinagle's *View of St. Paul's Church and the Broadway*, and in 1834 prints of a second view of West Point—in all probability Bennett's engraving of George Cook's drawing of *West Point from above Washington Valley*.[76]

The artistic talent in the Hill family was also broadening to new horizons. In 1829 one of John's young daughters displayed a *Nosegay* at the National Academy,[77] and at the same time John William Hill was launching his own career as an artist, having already exhibited at the National Academy in 1828 when only sixteen years old. The boy loved to sketch in the New York streets and it was not long before he moved farther afield. His aptitude was to prove of great value to his father who took young John as an apprentice and saw in his excellent drawings many subjects fitting to be engraved.

About 1830 Hill engraved young John's drawing of *Fire Engine No. 34* in the Greenwich neighborhood, and during the next two or three years did a number of scenes along the Erie Canal from his son's watercolors. The canal towns and the

[74] Collins's three-volume edition of Wilson's work bears the publication date 1828–29, and the folio atlas in which the prints appear the date 1829. A copy is in the Library of the American Museum of Natural History, N. Y. C. Hill colored a total of 1,032 prints of Plates 5, 8, 19, 23, 36, 43, 45, 50, 66, 67.

[75] Hill's bills for coloring the West Point view cover various dates from May 1831 to December 1833.

[76] Hill worked on the Staten Island prints in 1833 and 1834, on the Reinagle view in 1833, and on the "2d View of West Point" in 1834.

[77] "National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826–1860," in NYHS *Collections*, 1941, p. 228, where the artist is identified as "Miss C. Hill" of 72 Hammond Street. This was either Caroline or Catherine Hill—but probably Caroline, for she spent much of her life as an artist until she became blind.

bustling life along the upstate New York waterway gave promise of an attractive series, but for some reason it was never published. Hill, with the valued help of his daughter Caroline, engraved several of these plates, pulled proofs in line and aquatint, and prepared some preliminary transfer sketches in pencil. Five views are known in an engraved state, though only one of them—the *Junction of the Erie and Northern Canals*—was completed and colored with a title lettered in pencil. The survivors of this series, all in the collections of The New-York Historical Society, give indication of something which would have been a delightful record of pictorial Americana.[78]

Aquatints continued to come from Hill's workshop: in 1832 an engraving of the Dutchess County village of Matteawan; in 1834 one from his son's sketch of Albany; in 1836 two companion scenes of Philadelphia also from John William's drawings; and an engraving of the New Orleans Orphan Asylum. Aside from landscapes and city views, Hill's aquatints included such scenes as *Capturing a Sperm Whale*, 1835, from a painting by

[78] Caroline's assistance on the Erie Canal series is known from information passed by word of mouth from generation to generation in the Hill family. Hill's great-grandson, Charles M. Hill, remembers some of the framed aquatints of the Erie Canal series when they hung on the kitchen wall above the wainscoting behind the cook stove of the John William Hill house at West Nyack, Rockland County, N.Y.—C. M. Hill to R. J. Koke, March 10, 1958. Five known engraved views, either in line or aquatint, are in the Society's collections by gift of Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, 1918, including the one reproduced in several stages on pages 56–57 *ante*. The others are: an aquatint view of Albany; an aquatint presumed to be of the Hudson River near Waterford, or of a bridge across the Mohawk River; another of canal boating in the 1830s; and finally a line-etching of an unidentified city. The Society also owns John Hill's working sketches in pencil, taken from his son's watercolors, of a view of Cohoes Falls and of the Erie Canal aqueduct over the Mohawk River, as well as other pencil sketches and watercolors intended for the canal series. The dates *c.*1830–32 ascribed to this series are based on two facts: First, John William Hill's 1830 exhibit, at the National Academy, of views of Albany, the Lower Aqueduct of the Erie Canal, and Cohoes Falls indicates that the series was then under way. Secondly, John William's original watercolors of Schenectady and a view presumed to be of the Hudson River near Waterford both are dated 1832. Another of John William's watercolors, entitled *Erie Canal, 1831*, was formerly in the collection of the late Mrs. J. Insley Blair. Selections from John William's Erie Canal series were displayed at several exhibitions of the National Academy in the 1830s. See "National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826–1860," in NYHS *Collections*, 1941, p. 230. I. N. P. Stokes and D. C. Haskell, *American Historical Prints*, list other views evidently intended for this series.

ALBANY FROM GREENBUSH ACROSS THE HUDSON, 1832

Only print of Hill's aquatint after J. W. Hill's watercolor

Gift of Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, 1918

William Page, and three years later a colored aquatint of a *Shoal of Sperm Whale*, representing a spirited seascape of whale fisheries off the island of Hawaii from a painting by Thomas Birch.[79]

Throughout his life Hill had worked commendably for others, but his love of sporting prints was so inherent in his English char-

[79] The titles of these prints—all engraved, printed, and colored by John Hill—are: *Matteawan Manufacturing Village, Near Fishkill Landing. N. York* (drawn by Dr. Orlando Neely, and published by the artist, June 15, 1832); *Albany, From Greenbush, New York* (drawn by John William Hill, and published by Betts and Anstice, April 1, 1834); *Philadelphia From Fair Mount looking down the River Schuylkill* (painted by John William Hill, and published by James E. Betts, 1836); *Philadelphia From the Ship House in the Navy Yard looking up the River Delaware* (painted by John William Hill, and published by James E. Betts, 1836); *Capturing a Sperm Whale* (painted by William Page from a sketch by Cornelius B. Hulsart, and published by Hulsart, 1835); *A Shoal of Sperm Whale off the Island of Hawaii* (painted by Thomas Birch from a sketch by Cornelius B. Hulsart, and published by Hulsart, 1838). Copies of all of the preceding prints have been examined by the author. The listing of the New Orleans *Asylum for Destitute Boys* is cited in D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, II (1907), 226.

CAPTURING A SPERM WHALE, 1835

Engraved, printed and colored by John Hill from a painting by William Page based on a sketch by Cornelius B. Hulsart

Gift of George A. Zabriskie, 1948

acter that he assumed the function of publisher for a set of four colored aquatints of a racer, a hunter, a menage horse, and a stallion. These he engraved, printed, and colored—around 1835, it is presumed—from paintings by T. Gooch, the English animal painter for whom Hill had worked in England. These beautiful and highly decorative prints, today of extreme rarity, further emphasize Hill's importance in the field of American engraving, for they are the only sporting prints ever engraved in aquatint and published in early 19th-century America.[80]

[80] For the titles see Stauffer, *op. cit.*, II (1907), 223–24. The New York auction sales catalogue of the Parke-Bernet Galleries for the sale of prints from the Russell W. Thorp collection, November 30, 1939, p. 61 (item 134), ascribes the date *c.*1835 to these four prints, and likewise illustrates one of the views. The catalogue of the sale of the Frederic R. Halsey collection of prints at the Anderson Galleries in New York, November 1916 (Part II: Sporting Prints), p. 46, gives the date "1850" to the set. The year 1850 was the year of Hill's death. The first colored sporting prints issued in this country were hand-colored lithographs from drawings by Thomas Doughty (1793–1856) which were issued in the *Cabinet of Natural History and*

Only a few of Hill's original sketches survive. The Society owns several of the preliminary line drawings for the Erie Canal series. The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses the sketch which he drew from his Hammond Street window in 1825. In 1830–31 he recorded in his Account Book a number of views which he drew for Baron de Krudener, the Russian Minister to the United States, and for his Legation Secretary, M. Kremer, including one of Hammond Street and another of the Hudson River from the Glass House.[81] But the great mass of original material which Hill handled has disappeared and his engravings alone survive to give him his fame.

IV: ROCKLAND COUNTY AND THE NYACK TURNPIKE

Retirement in the Country

As John Hill grew older he found his chosen field of accomplishment showing signs of old age too. The great popularity of aquatint was on the wane by the end of the 1830s and giving way to the cheaper and easier medium of lithography and to the vogue of engraving on steel which could yield a greater number of impressions than the soft copper. Large views in aquatint continued to be published in the 1840s but no longer held the attraction that aquatint had enjoyed during its Golden Age in the 1820s and 1830s.[82]

Book of American Rural Sports (2 vols.; Philadelphia: 1830). This splendid series of animals, birds, and Western scenes was one of the great milestones in American printmaking. See H. T. Peters, *America on Stone* (Garden City: 1931), 160; and *The Old Print Shop Collector*, April 1941, p. 17. But Hill's were the first and only ones published here in aquatint.

[81] Hill charged Baron de Krudener $20 for the "Drawing of Hammond St," and $15 for "Drawing, View of the Hudson from the Glass House." In 1831 he charged $23 for eleven drawings which he executed for the Baron and five for Kremer.

[82] Among the few aquatints published in the 1840s and '50s were Robert Havell's two panoramic views of New York taken from the East and Hudson Rivers (1844); the Catherwood-Papprill view of New York from Fort Columbus on Governors Island (1846); John W. Hill's view of New York from the steeple of St. Paul's Church (1849); and John W. Hill's view of New York, engraved by Sigmund Himley and published in 1855.

Yet Hill's later American years were good to him. Never affluent, he had been thrifty and lived comfortably on his earnings by the standards of his day, when an income of $3,000 a year was regarded as a sign of wealth. He owned his home, had accounts in the Bowery and Greenwich Savings Banks, and had money invested in shares of the Manhattan Bank, in New York City water stock, and in canal stock of the State of Ohio. His children, except for Caroline, were married and on their own, and so John Hill and his wife came to the evening of their life without personal or financial worries. It was time for rest and contemplation and the comforting quietude of country life beckoned attractively to them. He was sixty-six when, on July 14, 1837, he purchased for $600 two lots of ground adjacent to the Nyack Turnpike in the Rockland County hamlet of Clarksville, some thirty miles up the river. One was a cleared lot of 7.62 acres and the other a woodland lot of 4.11 acres.

Clarksville was situated in the heart of Rockland at the crossing of the Sickletown Road and the busy Turnpike which connected Nyack landing on the Hudson with the inland settlements and factories in the Ramapo Valley. On the low slope of a hill rising west of Clarksville Corners and more than half way to the summit, Hill erected, supposedly in 1843, a simple home which he first intended only for summer use.[83] During the three years following the 1837 purchase Hill and his wife continued their residence in Tenth Street. After the entry of his name in the New

[83] John Henry Hill states that John Hill "relinquished" the practice of engraving in 1836 and removed with his family to the Nyack Turnpike, where he purchased land and erected a house (J. H. Hill, *Memorial*, 4). Arthur S. Tompkins (*Historical Record to the Close of the Nineteenth Century of Rockland County, N.Y.* [Nyack: 1902], Part II, 29) is the source for the statement that Hill purchased the property for a *summer* home. Hill's grandchildren were still alive when Tompkins wrote, and he probably secured this bit of information from one of them. That the purchase was actually made in 1837 is proved by Rockland County Deeds, Liber L, 487–88, County Clerk's Office, Court House, New City, N.Y., which names the sellers as Isaac and Sally Post of New York City. John Henry Hill, a grandson (1839–1922), frequently visited the old building in his later years and fondly repeated over and over again a phrase which was remembered: "My grandfather built this house when I was four years old." If his memory was correct, the house must have been built in or about 1843. Mr. and Mrs. Christian Olsen and their daughter, Dorothy (Olsen) Davies, who later occupied the Hill house and knew John Henry Hill from 1919 until his death in 1922, are the source for the grandson's statement. See also note 85, *post*.

JOHN HILL'S ROCKLAND COUNTY HOME AS IT IS TODAY

Photograph by Richard J. Koke, 1957

York directory for 1839–40 Hill was no longer listed in the city and presumably had moved permanently to the rural county where he and his wife were to spend the remainder of their lives —possibly, at first, to some humble edifice where they summered while erecting their own home. The Tenth Street house, though, did not pass from their hands, for their daughter Catherine continued to live there for over thirty years with her husband Peter Maunder, a saddler and harness maker. Also John William Hill occasionally stayed there when he was in New York.[84]

The earliest of the Hill houses in Rockland was a small but comfortable clapboard dwelling. Box-like in appearance, two stories high with a flat roof and a rear lean-to, it still stands on a gentle knoll on the north side of the Turnpike, overlooking to the east the wide valley of the Nyack Swamp. Additions to the rear

[84] Peter Maunder first appeared in the New York directories in 1831–32 as a saddler at 233 William Street, and from 1832 to 1835 at 4 Wall Street and 270 Spring Street. His name does not appear again in the directories until 1840–41, when he was listed at the Hill house at 13 Tenth Street (later 55 West Tenth Street), where subsequent directories list him continuously until 1872. He moved to Brooklyn two years after Catherine's death in 1870, and resided there until his own decease a few years later. Both Peter and Catherine (Hill) Maunder are buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Nyack, N.Y.

and on one side after it passed from Hill hands eliminated the sloping lean-to roof, but the exterior of the main structure is today only slightly changed from its original appearance. Here, before remodelling somewhat changed the interior, the visitor, having ascended an entrance porch, entered a diminutive hallway floored with wide boards, to the right of which was a small parlor graced with an inviting fireplace which occupied the greater part of the east wall. Two windows fronted southward on the road and in the opposite wall a door gave access to a kitchen in the lean-to wherein much of the Hills' domestic activity centered. Only a few steps outside the kitchen door was a 28-foot well lined with well-laid stones. A hall stairway rose to the second floor of the main house, which likewise had a hallway and two small bedrooms. It was constructed in the simple style of a country farmhouse, perhaps only slightly larger than a cottage, but it proved sufficient for the needs of the two elderly Hills.[85]

The focal point of the little country community which was now close to their hearts had originally been about half-a-mile farther north near the Clarkstown Church, but with the construction of the Nyack Turnpike across-county after the War of

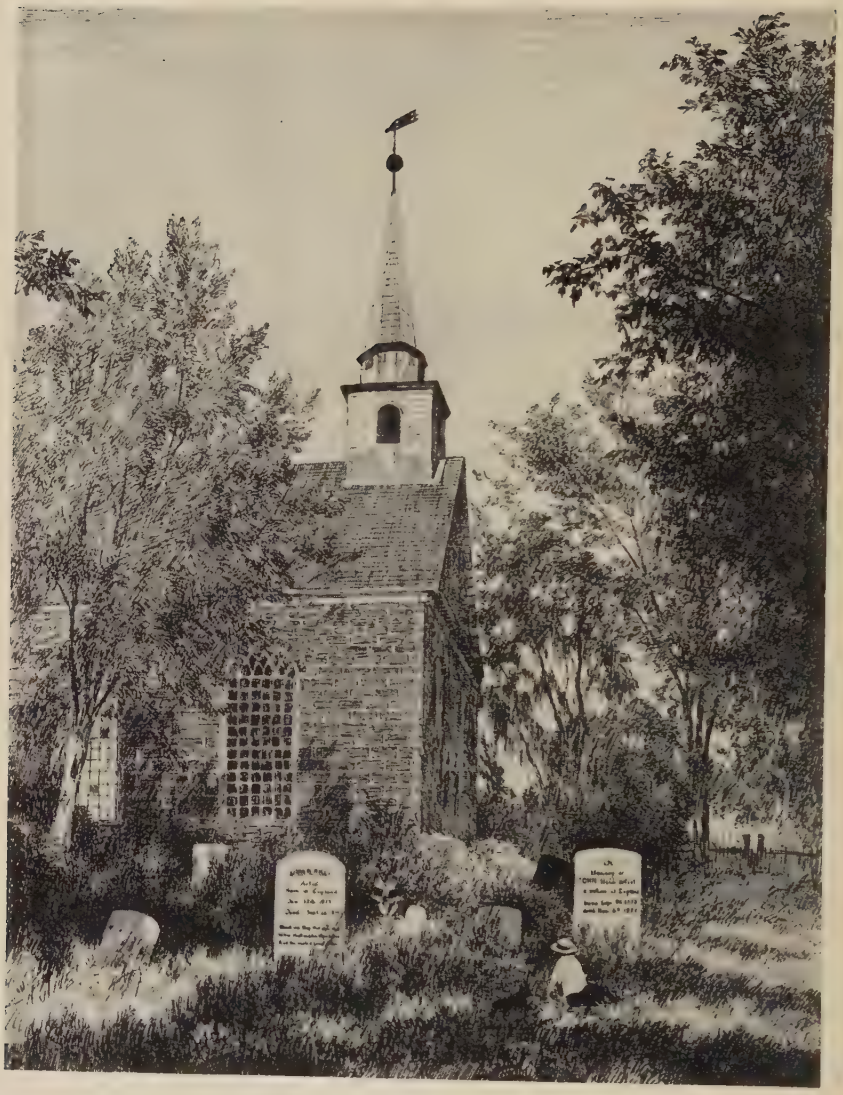
[85] Mr. Charles M. Hill of East Westmoreland, N.H., a great-grandson of John Hill who spent his youth in the West Nyack country in company with the older generation who were alive when John settled in Rockland, has been of inestimable assistance in clarifying many points concerning the Hill family. It was he who first called attention to the fact that John Hill's house was still standing. Further research brought forth valued contributions by Mr. and Mrs. Christian Olsen and Mrs. Dorothy (Olsen) Davies of West Nyack, based on their conversations with John Henry Hill prior to his death in 1922. John Hill's home is shown on the R. F. O'Connor *Map of Rockland County*, 1854, in ownership of Samuel G. Elsworth, who purchased the property from John William Hill in 1852, two years after the elder Hill's decease. In 1919, after a succession of owners, the house and grounds were bought by Christian Olsen, whose daughter Dorothy and her husband, Eric D. Davies, are the present owners. The author is deeply indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Olsen and Mrs. Davies for their courtesy in permitting an examination of the Hill house. Since Hill's day the wall which originally existed between the hallway and parlor has been removed in order to create one large room, but the dividing line is still traceable on the ceiling. The staircase to the second floor has also been turned around and completely changed. The doorway between the parlor and kitchen has been widened by the removal of part of the wall, and large windows have replaced the old kitchen windows which faced eastward. The original wide floorboards are still to be seen in the older parts of the house. The subsequent extension of the rear of the house covered up the well, but its outline is still visible in the floor of one of the later rooms.

1812 the business center shifted southward to Clarksville Corners. In John Hill's day it was an important stopping-place on the busy toll Turnpike. On one corner stood the local store which also housed the Post Office, where mail arrived weekly by way of Hackensack and Tappan. On another corner was situated a distillery which shortly after Hill's arrival gave way to Thomas Warner's commodious frame hotel. Hard by stood a wheelwright and blacksmith shop, and also a carriage factory and a little furniture and hat manufactory.

Little is known of the life which Hill led in his Rockland retreat. His Account Book terminates in 1834, and after 1838—when Hulsart published Hill's engraving of the *Shoal of Sperm Whale off the Island of Hawaii*—his dated engravings cease. He and Ann were happy in their sequestered country solitude, and he still had around him his prints and many of the coppers he had brought from New York. There were times, though, when he was irked, as old folks can sometimes be, by the noise of his young grandchildren romping on the lawn. He was remembered by those who knew him as a very plain man who had a great respect for the Sabbath, and when he turned his thoughts to the beauty of the universe he would tell his children and grandchildren that all of the colors which God ever made were to be found in the rainbow and that no artist could ever hope to catch their infinite and ever-changing variety.[86]

While the elder Hills were finding contentment in the country, their sons and daughters, now in their twenties and thirties, continued to live in New York. Visits between parents and chil-

[86] The family recollection of John Hill was handed down from John Henry Hill to Charles M. Hill, and by the latter to the author in a letter of March 10, 1958. The incident of the noisy children on the lawn was related by John Henry Hill to Christian Olsen during the period 1919–22. In the 18th century the country where the Hills settled was called Clarkstown, and in the 19th, variously, Clarksville, Nyack Turnpike, and Mount Moor. Today the area is included in the territory which goes under the broader appellation of West Nyack, though since 1957 the Clarksville Corners Restoration has revived the old name. For the background of the Clarksville area and the construction of the Nyack Turnpike see F. B. Green, *History of Rockland County* (New York: 1886), 198–207, 416–17; and A. S. Tompkins, ed., *op. cit.*, 433–37, 440–42.



CLARKSTOWN REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH, ROCKLAND COUNTY

Etching by John Henry Hill, *c.* 1879–88, showing his grandfather's grave

Collection of Richard J. Koke

dren were easily exchanged by way of the Turnpike and the steamboats which chugged noisily up and down the Hudson between Nyack and New York. An indication of the shifting interest to Rockland of even the children is apparent when John William and his wife had their first child baptized in 1838 by the Reverend Peter Quick in the Clarkstown Reformed Dutch Church on the Germonds Road. Not many years elapsed before John William and George followed their parents to Rockland and purchased property themselves along the Turnpike. John William bought 9.61 acres from his parents in 1840, leaving them with little more than two acres of their own. George came from the city in the later 1840s, and eventually also Caroline.[87]

An interesting facet of John Hill's later life, which affords room for speculation, is that his old English friend, William James Bennett, also found his way to Rockland in the last year of his life. Bennett had long lived in New York. The directory for 1843–44 listed him at a Broadway address, but the exhibition catalogue of the American Art-Union for 1844 indicates his place of residence at that time as "Nyack," from where he sent six drawings to the annual exhibition. Quite possibly Bennett moved to Nyack or its vicinity at Hill's suggestion, possibly to live with his older engraver-friend or in close proximity to him.

[87] John William Hill acquired his parents' land in two lots for $575 and subsequently increased his holdings from other sellers in 1841, 1853, and 1869. Even after his removal to Rockland, John William continued to maintain a New York address, and in the 1845 listing of artists' addresses at the National Academy of Design exhibition he was listed at the Tenth Street address where his sister and brother-in-law lived. The first purchase of land in Rockland by George Hill took place in 1849, when, described as of New York City, he acquired a lot of slightly more than five acres on the Nyack Turnpike from John A. Van Zant for $225. In 1851, still described as a resident of New York City, he purchased one lot of eight acres and another of 23 acres for $1,500 from Abram C. Blauvelt. In 1852 George purchased ten more acres from another seller for $200, and this time he was finally described as an inhabitant of Clarkstown Township in Rockland. The Clarkstown Reformed Dutch Church where the Hills worshipped was erected in 1825 on the site of the original meeting house constructed in the 18th century. This later edifice was destroyed by fire on April 4, 1904, and in 1925 the site was marked with a tablet erected by the Rockland County Society on the old foundation. It was adjacent to the burial ground on the north side of the highway.

But Bennett's sojourn in the county was brief: he died in May of 1844.[88]

On November 10, 1847, Ann Hill, with whom John had shared so much of his life, passed away at sixty-nine, and they carried her body to the burial ground of the Clarkstown Church, where her son John William had already buried his first wife in 1844. They interred the remains in the earth near the picturesque stone edifice, and over her grave the family placed a stone on which was cut: "IN Memory of ANN, wife of John Hill, born Oct. 18th, 1778, died Nov. 10th, 1847."

Three years later John, too, was in his last illness, and on October 30, 1850, he drew up his will in preparation for the end. He died on November 6th at the age of eighty in his home on the Turnpike. So, the ink-stained hands were still which once had lovingly worked on the copperplates, and the fingers were quiet which had gripped the etching needles to engrave the beauties of Britain and the Continent, the teeming streets of London and Paris, the exotic scenery of Africa, and finally the cities and landscapes of America.

The mournful cortege of family and friends followed the hearse and the body in its wooden coffin downhill to the crossroads, then northward to old Clarkstown Corners, and then westward and northerly along the winding Germonds Road to the cemetery where John Hill's beloved wife and daughter-in-law lay. They buried him close to Ann, and on the white gravestone which shortly afterwards was placed above his resting place a stonecutter chiseled this legend: "IN Memory of JOHN HILL, artist, a native of England born Sept. 9th, 1770, died Nov. 6th, 1850."

[88] The New York *Evening Post for the Country*, May 15, 1844, carried the following obituary notice on Bennett's death: "On Monday evening May 13th WILLIAM JAMES BENNET [*sic*], aged 60 years." The place of his death was not cited. There is no record of Bennett's will, nor letters of administration for his estate, either in the Rockland County records at New City or in the Surrogate's records in the Hall of Records in New York City. In view of the facts that in 1844 Bennett was listed at Nyack and that his death occurred early in that year, there is good basis for assuming that his death occurred in Rockland County.

THE GRAVES OF JOHN AND ANN HILL, ROCKLAND COUNTY

Photograph by Richard J. Koke, 1957

Across the roadway from the stone church and its graveyard flecked with red sandstone slabs, a little stream meandered downhill towards the Hackensack River, overflowing along its course into placid millponds giving power to a few little mills nestled in the dell. It was quiet here. The thudding sounds of clanking waterwheels, when the mills were working, made a dull but pleasant intonation compared with the noisy city streets which Hill had long known on both sides of the Atlantic. After a lifetime of toil, happiness, and sorrow, John Hill—who had worked for the great publishers of views in England and later had given his talents to those in America[89]—lay at his final rest in a peaceful countryside. The inscription on his tombstone read "John Hill, artist," and as such he undoubtedly wished himself to be remembered.[90]

[89] A complete checklist of John Hill's engravings is now in preparation by the author, with special emphasis on the various plates and states of the *Hudson River Portfolio*. When completed, a copy will be deposited in The New-York Historical Society.

[90] By the terms of John Hill's will, probated on December 7, 1850, he bequeathed his house and lot on the Nyack Turnpike to his eldest son, John William Hill, and his

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682–1756. By Robert L. D. Davidson. (New York: Columbia University Press for Temple University Publications, 1957. vii + 245 pages, appendices, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by Opal Thornburg, *Archivist and Historian, Earlham College.*

Frederick B. Tolles prefaced his volume *Meeting House and Counting House* with the statement that "the experience of the Quakers in provincial politics and in dealing with the Indians has merely been sketched in; there is need for a thoroughgoing reassessment of that experience." In *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania*, Robert L. D. Davidson, President of Westminster College in Missouri, has made such a reassessment. It is an impartial one, replete with facts, unfolding the story of the intermingling of a variety of men with the Quakers in Penn's Woods, of threats of war that were no more than threats and how the various groups reacted, of growing danger on the frontier, of the adroit maneuvers of the Quaker majority in the Assembly to avoid voting funds or troops for defense even when the frontier burst into flames. To this reader, at least, the account does not quite make clear whether Pennsylvania was unmolested by war for its first seven decades because of Quaker fair dealing with the Indians and Quaker opposition to military measures or because the province was fortunately located.

Much has been written about this "Holy Experiment" of the Quakers

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fn. cont'd from article ending on p. 117.

New York house on Tenth Street to his daughter, Catherine (Hill) Maunder, with a proviso that on her decease or when her youngest child reached the age of twenty-one, the property should be sold and the money divided equally among her four children. He exonerated John William of indebtedness for $709.37 lent to him at various times, and gave him an additional $500 on deposit in the Greenwich Savings Bank in New York. To his granddaughter Catherine Hill, John William's daughter, he gave $500 on deposit in the Bowery Savings Bank. He bequeathed to his daughter Caroline his State of Ohio Canal Stock certificate for $2,500. His youngest son George received fifteen shares in the Manhattan Bank in New York valued at $840, and a $500 New York City Water Stock. John William likewise received another $500 New York City Water Stock. The executor and executrix were John William Hill and Catherine (Hill) Maunder. At the time of probate in 1850 George and Caroline Hill and Catherine (Hill) Maunder were all living in New York.—J. Hill, Last Will and Testament, in Rockland County Wills, Liber F, 259–64, Surrogate's Office, Court House, New City, N.Y.

With reference to John Hill's children, Catherine (Hill) Maunder died in 1870, John William in 1879, George in 1889, and Caroline in 1894. With Caroline's passing at Mount Moor, the last of the children who had come from England with engraver John Hill disappeared from the West Nyack scene. John William, George, and Caroline also are buried in the old cemetery of the Clarkstown Church with their parents, and Catherine (Hill) Maunder and her husband, Peter, lie in Oak Hill Cemetery at Nyack.

in founding Pennsylvania as a community of brotherly love, in which war and violence would have no part, and about the collapse of that experiment when the waves of the French and Indian War washed over the frontier. Perhaps no one blames the Quakers for that collapse more than the Quakers blame themselves. As the author of this volume states, however, "an experiment cannot be properly conducted except in a controlled environment." When Friends came to be vastly outnumbered in the province it was inevitable that in the clash of ideas they would go down in defeat. It is to their credit that while individual Quakers, in the buffeting of the market place and government assembly, failed to live up to the precepts of their sect, yet the Society of Friends held firm, persuading members in 1858 to withdraw from political life rather than to be involved in policies and practices contrary to Quaker principles.

The present volume seems to indicate that struggles between the Governor and the Quaker-controlled Assembly were chiefly over the question of supplying funds and militia for the defense of the province. Actually much of the difficulty arose from the Whig philosophy which so strongly characterized the Quakers and other people of Pennsylvania. Because they were so jealous of their liberties and so determined on representative government, they opposed the authority of the Crown, represented by the Proprietor and his deputy, the Governor, whatever they might be seeking to impose.

Moreover, the Quakers did not act as a unified body in opposition to the Governor, but for many years there was a radical "country" party, led by David Lloyd, and a conservative party dominated by merchants, under James Logan, with sometimes one and sometimes the other patronized by the Governor. Not until 1736 did the Quakers present a united front. More important issues than the military defense of the frontier seem to have been the authority of the Proprietors and the right treatment of the Indians to make them better neighbors.

The picture drawn by Dr. Davidson of the Philadelphia Quaker accurately reveals him as a man of high idealism, of tender conscience, of fair dealing, of plain living and high thinking, but suffering erosions from his growing affluence with its temptations, and from pressures as a result of the increasing majority of "the world's people" among whom he lived.

"One wonders," he concludes, "that the experiment in brotherhood lasted as long as it did. . . . The Quaker dream dissolved both because it met the reality of the greed and political aspirations of others and because of the intrinsic weakness of men who carried it out." Yet it did not wholly fail since, as Dr. Davidson says, "no finer example of treatment of the aborigine exists in history."

William Buckland, 1734–1774, Architect of Virginia and Maryland. By Rosamond Randall Beirne and John H. Scarff, F.A.I.A. (Baltimore:

The Maryland Historical Society, 1958. xiii + 175 pages, illus., notes on sources, index. $7.50.)

Reviewed by Robert Donald Kozlow, *Manuscript Assistant, NYHS.*

A monograph on one of the few known pre-Revolutionary architects and designers, this book makes a valuable addition to the record of America's architectural heritage. The subject, William Buckland, was the eldest son of an Oxford yeoman. At fourteen he was apprenticed to his uncle in London as a joiner. After serving out his contract he signed himself as an indentured carpenter and joiner to Thomas Mason, brother of George Mason of Virginia, and sailed for the Colonies in 1755.

The authors trace Buckland's history in Virginia and Maryland through a succession of handsome Georgian-styled residences. His first project on arriving in Virginia was the interior of Gunston Hall, built by George Mason. The house furnished Buckland with a finished example of his work and earned him a personal endorsement from Mason. After the expiration of his contract, Buckland married and moved to Warsaw, Virginia, where the authors have concluded he finished the interiors of Col. Landon Carter's Sabine Hall and Col. John Tayloe's Mount Airy. Simultaneously he carried out commissions in Annapolis. The houses of Dr. Upton Scott, John Ridout, and Governor Horatio Sharpe lack the documentation that one would wish for to give them unquestionably to Buckland, but in the absence of another joiner and on the basis of their accomplished style and skill the authors have confidently identified them as Buckland's. They have wisely devoted a separate chapter to those residences which cannot be positively given to Buckland.

No such uncertainty exists in three additional Annapolis houses. Buckland began the Chase-Lloyd house in 1771 and quickly followed with the Hammond-Harwood and James Brice houses. Edward Lloyd's wife was a Tayloe of Mount Airy. The Lloyds had purchased from Sam Chase in Annapolis a partially completed house and in 1771 sent to Warsaw for Buckland to complete the construction and furnish the interior detail. Buckland moved his family to Annapolis where he assumed the position of architect. Following the Lloyd commission he was employed as architect and joiner for the houses of Matthias Hammond and James Brice. Luxurious in their details, these homes are excellent examples of the affluence of an aspiring colonial society. Buckland died in 1774 but not before sitting for a portrait by Charles Willson Peale.

The authors have written a compact and highly documented account of William Buckland but have avoided critical analysis of his work. The reader is carefully led along Buckland's career step by step, pausing frequently at the signposts of manuscript citations, account book entries, and observations in diaries. The political, commercial and social events that surrounded Buckland's brief life in the Colonies from 1755 to 1774 are well outlined. They lend an authenticity to the depiction of his career

but an examination of his talent as an architect and craftsman is neglected. What stylistic relationship if any did Buckland have with John Ariss? What comparisons if any can be drawn from the only other known pre-Revolutionary architects of the South, Richard Taliaferro and Thomas Jefferson? Well footnoted and illustrated, the monograph invites a critical synthesis of colonial architecture in the South. It is only through similar detailed scholarship and the munificence of societies like the Maryland Historical Society that architectural historians will be provided with material for such a study.

This Glorious Cause. By Herbert T. Wade and Robert A. Lively. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. xi + 254 pages, maps, index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

When the British marched on Lexington, Joseph Hodgkins, a shoemaker, and Nathaniel Wade, a carpenter, both of Ipswich, Massachusetts, answered the call to arms. For more than four years the two men served in the Continental Army. During that time they fought at Bunker Hill; retreated from Long Island; participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton; and savored victory at Saratoga. Hodgkins went on to suffer through the winter at Valley Forge, while Wade took command of the garrison at West Point on the night that Benedict Arnold's treason became known.

Fortunately, Hodgkins and Wade survived the war and lived long enough to attend the exercises held in Boston on June 17, 1825, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Duty is the theme of this book, which is based on the Hodgkins letters and the Wade Orderly Books. In the letters of Joseph Hodgkins to his wife, Sarah, can be read the warmly human record of a man who fought under Washington. Not one to conceal his complaints, physical or otherwise, Hodgkins nonetheless never wavered in his loyalty. He needed no encouragement to persevere since, as he observed, "if we Due not Exarte our selves in this gloris Cause our all is gon and we made slaves of for Ever. . . ."

There are no new facts or new interpretations in this volume. It is important, however, as a personal account of the experiences and reactions of two officers in the Revolutionary War. Robert A. Lively prepared this book from notes and manuscripts compiled, prior to his death in 1955, by Herbert T. Wade, a descendant of both Joseph Hodgkins and Nathaniel Wade. The result is an excellent contribution to the historical literature of the American Revolution.

Henry Knox, General Washington's General. By North Callahan. (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1958. xi + 404 pages, front. port., maps, biblio. notes, index. $6.00.)

The Battle of Cowpens: the Great Morale-Builder. By KENNETH ROBERTS. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1958. 111 pages, 2 ports., 2 maps, biblio., index. $3.50.)

Reviewed by R. W. G. VAIL.

It seems a bit odd that the one man of the Revolutionary army who knew the most about artillery learned it from the military manuals for sale in his own bookstore. To this theoretical knowledge Henry Knox soon added the practical side by his brave and perspiring activity in the field, and this is also surprising since he weighed nearly 300 pounds during most of his career.

Each generation has to reappraise our national heroes for itself but neither the life of Knox by Francis S. Drake published in 1873 nor that of Noah Brooks in 1900 can hold a candle to the volume now under our consideration. That is not to be wondered at, for North Callahan, though he used General Knox's own voluminous papers as did his predecessors, found so many additional original sources in various libraries that the research alone occupied some five years. He has done an exceptionally good piece of scholarship and has, for the first time in our day, given a great soldier his due, placed the importance of the artillery in its proper place and has pictured the war through the eyes of "General Washington's general," the man who, next to Lafayette, was closest to the Commander-in-Chief throughout the war. He was not only close to Washington but the latter asked his advice at every turn and much of the strategy was based on Knox's sound judgment and military skill. He was also of the greatest value to his general for his ability to pour oil on troubled waters, for there was an amazing amount of jealousy and bickering in Washington's official family.

Of course, General Knox could not be everywhere during the war so this biography is not a complete history of all the campaigns. So it is interesting to read it chapter by chapter along with *Rebels and Redcoats*, as your reviewer did, or with *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*, both of which are anthologies of eye-witness and other contemporary accounts, the reading of which fills in the gaps in the Knox biography and adds many a vivid and stirring episode.*

After the Revolution, General Knox was still of importance to his country. He was the founder of the Society of the Cincinnati, the virtual founder of the United States Military Academy, played an important part in the suppression of our first civil war, Shays' Rebellion, advised the framers of the Constitution, and became our first Secretary of War. He

* *Rebels and Redcoats*. By George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin. (New York: World Publishing Company, 1957. 572 pages, maps in text, notes, bibliography, index. $7.50.) Reviewed by Richard J. Koke in this *Quarterly*, January 1958, p. 96.

The Spirit of Seventy-Six. Edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958. 2 volumes, 1,348 pages, illustrated. $15.00.)

organized a permanent army, planned two expeditions into the western country and in the second, with Mad Anthony Wayne carrying out his orders in the field, won the battle of Fallen Timbers and quieted the Indian troubles, thus making frontier settlement safe for the pioneers.

General Knox had his personal troubles, not the least of which was Mrs. Knox, but he seems always to have loved her devotedly and to have had a happy family life for the most part though his twelve children did not all live to maturity. He had a few years of comparative peace in his beautiful mansion in the midst of his great estate at Thomaston, Maine. Here he could view with satisfaction his rise from obscurity to greatness, the strenuous career in which his country's interest always came before his own, his host of friends and the good times they had together and, best of all, the love and gratitude of the man under whom he served as Major General of Artillery and Secretary of War. The professional historian has admired General Knox for many years but North Callahan has done his memory belated justice by introducing him in accurate and engaging style to the rest of us who admire a well-told story of a brave and resourceful hero.

It is unfortunate that the last novel of our great writer of historical fiction, Kenneth Roberts, was never finished. It was to have been a story of the final Revolutionary campaign in the South and in gathering material for it the author was particularly intrigued by the Battle of Cowpens, which he called "the great morale builder." It is certain that, at this period, the campaign in the Southern Department needed victories but, in order to promote his favorite battle as "*the* great morale builder," Roberts seems deliberately to have ignored the first great southern victory of the Americans, the Battle of King's Mountain, in which an entire British army had been wiped out or captured. This victory of the frontiersmen with their long rifles thrilled the whole country and was soon followed by Cowpens, Roberts' favorite battle. He argues that the Battle of Cowpens was the sole cause of the improvement of northern morale and the consequent support of the final campaign of the Revolution. However, both these spectacular victories combined to arouse both the North and South to the need for a more vigorous support of Greene's army and the southern campaign.

It is easy to see why Roberts was so enthusiastic over the battle at the cow pens. He loved to see the clash of such contrasting characters as Tarleton and Morgan, the one a polished gentleman of wealth with an Oxford degree and with the traditions of the British army back of him, and the other the tough illiterate frontier drover and great leader of mobile troops. Morgan was in the tradition of Roberts' other heroes, Cap Huff and Robert Rogers under whom Morgan had fought at Quebec. He was a leader of men, a legendary hero, an unlettered giant with courage and spirit and would have made a great hero for the book Roberts did not

live to write. But he did live to finish his vivid description of the Battle of Cowpens and that certainly is worth reading. The rest of the book seems to be made up of the more or less disjointed notes gathered for use in the larger work which was never written. These notes, some of them with the old Roberts fight in them, not only tell the events leading up to the engagement but attempt to answer the other writers who did not seem to have given full credit to Morgan and his men for winning a great battle of far-reaching consequences. The little book is certainly worth printing as a farewell to a great historical writer but it is only a fragment and would have been enlarged, corrected, and improved if the author could have lived to complete it.

The Astor Place Riot. By Richard Moody. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958. 243 pages, biblio., illus. $5.00.)

Reviewed by George Freedley, *Curator, Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library.*

This well-illustrated, well-documented study of America's most celebrated theatrical riot is beautifully and interestingly told by Professor Moody of the famous Drama and Speech Department of Indiana University. He has approached his subject as lovingly as Professor Odell did in his account of the Edwin Forrest–W. C. Macready feud which was utilized by pro-Irish and anti-British residents of New York City to magnify a tiny incident far beyond its original lack of importance.

In 1836 Forrest, the star of the Old Bowery Theatre and the absolute idol of the Bowery B'hoys, as the gallery gods were known, had encountered a hiss or two, which Forrest *suspected* had been started by Macready sympathizers. Thirteen years later, aggravated by the Potato Famine in Ireland in 1848, stimulated by short-sighted English policy, Irish-Americans were at fever pitch in their hatred and resentment of anything British, including actors, when the management invited Macready to appear at the upper-crust Astor Place Opera House. Inflammatory articles appeared in newspapers, but chiefly it was by word of mouth, exchanged in saloons frequented by the Bowery B'hoys and their sympathizers, that trouble was fomented. It was suggested to the management that it cancel the Macready engagement, due to begin May 10, 1849, with the "unlucky drama," *Macbeth*, but the advance sale was so strong that the producers refused. The City and the State prepared for trouble but how much it would turn out to be couldn't be anticipated. Before it was over there were twenty-two dead and hundreds wounded by gunshot and/or paving stones (thoughtfully provided by the City as New York was, as usual, being repaved), the result of a panic call for the State Militia encamped in Washington Square. Macready was spirited away to Boston while New York licked its wounds and Forrest, who had

been playing at the Bowery that night, denied and was cleared of any complicity or fore-knowledge of the tragic event.

Professor Moody's lively volume is a contribution to New York history and is highly readable as well.

Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War. By Bray Hammond. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. xi + 771 pages, biblio., index. $12.50.)

Reviewed by Ralph W. Hidy, *Professor of Business History, Harvard University.*

In this age of specialization one of the crying needs in the historical profession is a willingness of writers to synthesize findings in monographic and periodical literature. Only occasionally does such an author as Bray Hammond turn to the task. Through wide reading, some original research, and deep cogitation, he has produced an admirable study of the relationships between banking and politics north of the Rio Grande up to the Civil War. In the course of writing his 771-page book, he has ranged from the States in the South and provinces in Canada to the government of the United States. The author pursues several sub-themes, but the main one seems to be that businessmen, rather than the numerically more numerous farmers, were the prime movers for easy credit, cheap money, and more banks to supply both. The Hamiltonian "devotion to dollars came to prevail, and a conviction that the more there were of them the better off every one would be" (p., viii).

Remarkable as this book is in its scope and perceptive interpretations, it cannot be accepted as the final word on the subject. For example, there is no doubt that Nicholas Biddle showed unusual ability and foresight in his administration of the Second Bank of the United States, for he was seeking to make his institution as nearly a central bank as theory and practice would permit at the time. Even at the peak of his powers as a banker prior to 1830, however, he certainly ran the firm as a one-man show and not as a collaborative venture with the Federal Government. And when he ventured into the political field, he showed marked ineptitude, a characteristic which a man in his position could not afford to display.

Two other points merit comment: While many businessmen indubitably desired easy credit, not all of them belonged to the easy money school. Furthermore, the agrarians certainly included large numbers who saw eye to eye with the more ambitious and more speculative businessmen. There are also conflicts within both groups which Mr. Hammond does not bring to the fore as much as he might. Particularly, the conflicts in the various States could be elucidated more fully than he has done. In other words, there is obviously opportunity for more monographic studies on banking and politics in not a few States. In such monographs,

as well as the synthesis after them, more analysis might well be given the contrasting results of easy credit in the United States and of relatively tight credit in Canada. Undoubtedly more of a case can be made for the virtues of easy credit in economic development than Mr. Hammond has given us.

These critical comments are given in some detail because this book has been so highly acclaimed that its merits are well known. The award of the Pulitzer Prize for History was well deserved. Mr. Hammond did exceedingly well for a man who is admittedly neither a politician nor a lawyer nor an economist nor a banker nor an historian.

The Role of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics 1835–1864. By Charles Grove Haines and Foster H. Sherwood. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. x + 533 pages, table of cases, index. $7.50.)

Reviewed by Arthur W. Macmahon, *Professor Emeritus, Department of Public Law and Government, Columbia University.*

The late Charles Grove Haines, already well known for his writings on the doctrine of judicial supremacy, projected a two-volume analytical narrative on the role of the Supreme Court in American government and politics from 1789 to 1885. The first volume appeared in 1944; it carried the story to 1835. The second volume was incomplete when Haines died in 1948. Professor Foster H. Sherwood, aided by a decade of association as student and later colleague and one-time research assistant in the preparation of the earlier volume, has finished the work, loyally following the main author's interpretations so far as they were revealed in manuscript drafts and notes. To this end he has limited the period of the study to the era 1835 to 1864.

The period is the much-discussed epoch of the Taney Court. A sober and responsible treatment is not expected to yield major novelties while it may give depth and altered perspective. The present volume helps the understanding of the land-mark cases by the careful use of the briefs and surrounding materials and also by attention to the streams of minor cases that are indispensable in revealing cross-currents as well as trends. These features, if there were no others, would make this plump, packed volume a useful reference.

The authors with calm respect view the Court as an organ in a larger political process. The Court was responsive to new forces in American life. At the end of the period its failure was a lack of political astuteness. The main burden of the volume, however, is to correct the conventional over-emphasis upon the movement away from the doctrines of the Marshall Court. Not only was there an underlying continuity but also a change in the mood of the later period. The authors remark that "a Court which made a marked contribution toward the protection of human

rights and the preservation of local self-government veered gradually toward the constitutional interpretation so ably expounded by Marshall. This interpretation gave primary concern to the development of national supremacy and to the protection of vested rights of persons and of corporations."

The advance of national power was made in the realm of the courts, notably evident in the treatment of the rising device of State-chartered corporations and their role in the national marketplace (significantly advanced by *Bank of Augusta* v. *Earle* in 1839) and in the attempt in *Swift* v. *Tyson* in 1842 to open the way for a Federal common law of commerce. Meanwhile the common man's revolt had been more against the notion of privileges conferred by government than in favor of positive legislation. The issues of national power were made additionally ambiguous because of the stake of the slave interest in certain provisions of the Constitution and the supposed dependence of the South upon a drastic and exclusive Federal fugitive slave law.

As for the contract clause in the era before the Fourteenth Amendment, the authors trace its restored vitality, although as a substitute for "due process" it was not given the sweep for which Marshall had vainly contended in his dissent in *Ogden* v. *Saunders*. During the same period, the Supreme Court in somewhat floundering fashion established itself as effective arbiter in suits between States. By way of partial summary of the whole period, the authors remark: "Three major themes run through the decisions of the Supreme Court under the chief-justiceship of Roger B. Taney: continued growth of the power of the nation against that of the states; concomitant growth of the federal judicial power; and development of a basis for the protection of property rights, particularly corporate property, which was to reach its full flower only after the Civil War and under the aegis of the Fourteenth Amendment."

Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad. By William Breyfogle. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. 287 pages, biblio., index. $4.50.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

It was a dangerous undertaking for a slave to run away. If the enterprise succeeded, there was the unsettling prospect of a new life in unfamiliar surroundings. If the enterprise failed, the punishment was severe. Yet the urge to freedom was great enough to outweigh the risks and uncertainties and time and again slaves attempted to escape. The exact number of slaves who fled successfully or otherwise is unrecorded, but it is evident that the total was sufficiently large to embitter the South and enlist the sympathies of previously indifferent Northerners. At no time, however, was the institution of slavery seriously threatened by the flight

of slaves, even in the States of the Upper South which were naturally most affected.

Co-existent with unplanned or hastily contrived efforts at escape was the more organized apparatus known as the Underground Railroad. This network of sympathizers and concealed hideouts functioned with remarkable effectiveness. It had its "conductors"—and few more courageous than Harriet Tubman, an escaped slave herself, who returned more than once to guide other Negroes to freedom. It also had its "stationmasters," such as the indomitable Quaker merchant, Levi Coffin, of Newport, Indiana. But, by and large, most of the individuals who aided the fugitives are unknown to history: the farmer, who provided shelter in his barn or field, and sometimes in his home; and the farmer's wife, who supplied clothing and fuel.

In this book which is presumably devoted to the Underground Railroad there is far too much peripheral material. While it may be that the author felt that a discussion of the economics and politics of the North and South was necessary for background purposes, there is no need to treat it at such length here since it has been adequately discussed in other books. Similarly, the author has added no new insights or conclusions to his accounts of Henry Clay and the Compromise of 1850, John Brown's attack at Harper's Ferry, or the abolitionists Garrison, Phillips, and others.

It is regrettable that Mr. Breyfogle did not confine himself more closely to the actual subject of his book. His failure to do so certainly can not be attributed to lack of material, although it is not altogether possible to deduce what research he has conducted from the "selective listing" he has included as his bibliography. It is doubly regrettable that so much of this volume is concerned with events and issues not directly pertinent to the Underground Railroad because the author writes well. The fact remains, however, that this volume is of little value to the historian and is not likely to have appeal for the general reader.

The South in Northern Eyes 1831 to 1861. By Howard R. Floan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958. xi + 198 pages, index. $3.95.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

The tensions in the atmosphere of the American scene which ultimately exploded in Civil War deserve analysis. While interest has been focused on the cultural phases of the war in other books it still remains an area worthy of further exploration.

The author believes, and supports his belief by excerpts from their works, that the New England writers—primarily Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Thoreau, and Whittier—were instrumental in creating a stereotype of the Southerner in the minds of many literate Northerners. Hating the sin (as they viewed it) of slavery, these writers gradually tended to identify the sin with the sinner. The inevitable result was a portrayal of

all Southerners as wicked. As the abolition movement gained force, aided by the oratory of Wendell Phillips and the editorials of William Lloyd Garrison, the attitudes of Phillips and Garrison were evidenced in the writings of the major New England literary figures.

The reasons for this development are undoubtedly varied. The author does not portray Emerson or Thoreau, for example, as hapless pieces of litmus paper reflecting the acid of Phillips and Garrison. Mr. Floan is aware of that aspect of the New England mind which viewed the struggle between the North and the South as a contest between good and evil. He does observe, however, that this group of writers had little personal knowledge of the South, and even less desire to learn about the region in order to understand it better. Whittier and Thoreau never visited the South; Emerson had been there in 1826 and 1827, a period of relative calm; and Lowell had ventured no further than Philadelphia.

In contrast to the rigidity of the New Englanders, the author poses the more reasonable views of the New York School: Bryant, Irving, Melville, and Whitman. Mr. Floan contends that travel and social connections influenced New York writers to produce a more rational and sympathetic image of the Southerner. This contrast between the New York and New England sentiments supports the author's view that contact with the South played an important part in formulating attitudes. But that travel in the South might have produced any fundamental change in the opinions of the New England writers, as is suggested in this book, is questionable. In view of the emotional aspect of the slavery issue it is equally likely that, even if these men had traveled in the South, they would have seen what they expected to see. In this connection it may be appropriate to recall, somewhat wryly, Thoreau's comment in *Walden,* "I have traveled a good deal in Concord."

The North, it should be pointed out, was not alone in creating a stereotype of the Southerner. In the South, for example, the speeches of Calhoun, if we consider him, in one sense, as a literary figure, and the sketches of such writers as Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, helped to manufacture a kind of home-grown stereotype. It is, of course, never easy to determine in retrospect the degree of influence exerted by literary men in their own time. It is, however, probably safe to say that the stereotype images created by both North and South were powerful enough to act as contributing factors to misunderstanding which, in turn, became a force in the development of the breach between the two regions.

The attitudes and opinions expressed by the New England writers in relation to the South and Southerners, and the reasons for the development of these attitudes and opinions, are complex. That this area merits investigation is attested to by the fact that the vivid, if over-simplified, portrait of the Southerner created by the New England group has persisted over the years. Any future studies of this problem should take into account this volume by Howard Floan.

Guns on the Early Frontiers. By CARL P. RUSSELL. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. xv + 395 pages, illus., biblio., index. $8.50.)

Reviewed by JOHN C. MCMURRAY, *early American long-arms collector.*

This book has a great deal to offer both the gun collector and the historian. Described as "a history of firearms from colonial times through the years of the western fur trade" the book presents the historical framework in which weapons used on United States frontiers from 1600 to 1850 gain significance. The weapons which we now consider antique are in many instances tangible reminders of history, and many types of weapons had an important influence on the history of their eras. Mr. Russell introduces his subject by describing the general types of weapons supplied to the native Americans by the English, French, Dutch, and Spanish traders. Relationships of the fur and arms trade to political, economic, and military history of the United States and Canada are discussed, as well as the fur trade problems that led to the French and Indian War and the War of 1812. Finally the entry of the United States Government and John J. Astor into the fur and arms trade are considered.

Traders and trappers were wont to equip themselves with the most serviceable arms obtainable and the variety selected ranged from single-shot pistols to blunderbusses. The traders, who could expect to be outnumbered in many encounters with their Indian clientele, were quick to adopt the early repeating weapons. The Billinghurst type of rifles made in Rochester, N.Y., was highly regarded on the frontier and Colt's revolving pistols and rifles won their first renown in the hands of men like Kit Carson who recognized their value in Indian fighting. There are several references to the high value accorded the blunderbuss by the early Western expeditions, but the two weapons described on page 72 as Harpers Ferry blunderbusses are of doubtful authenticity.

Mr. Russell adequately describes the Northwest Indian trade musket with its distinctive brass side plate in the form of a serpent or scaled dragon. This arm was certainly the most important article of trade in North America for over 150 years and it preserved its identifying characteristics throughout this period. Unfortunately, there is no mention of the less common but equally distinctive Chief's fusil bearing the silver medallion bust of an Indian—apparently presented to Indian chiefs by the British during the War of 1812.

There is very sketchy coverage of the rifles supplied to Indians by the United States Government or by the American traders, and those few described and illustrated date from the 1840s and 1850s. One reference, quoted as a description of rifles to be purchased for the Indians by the United States in 1807, actually relates to a United States military rifle—not an Indian gun at all. It is unfortunate that Mr. Russell includes no description of the "English Rifle" and "New English Rifle" made specifi-

cally for Indians by the famous Henry clan of gunmakers in Lancaster. Both these rifles are well described in two of the works included in Mr. Russell's bibliography.

The chapter on "Military Arms of the Fur-Trade Period" draws heavily upon secondary sources for descriptions of muskets, carbines, rifles, and pistols. Mr. Russell does not appear to have made sufficient study of the arms or primary sources to offer his own analysis with any degree of authority. The Colt revolving carbine, described and pictured as typical of those furnished the War Department, is actually an experimental piece having a strap over the cylinder. This particular gun may well be unique and therefore a poor choice for illustrating the ordinary Colt Paterson carbine.

Mr. Russell incorrectly asserts that Henry Deringer manufactured the Model 1803 rifle for the United States. Actually, Deringer produced a weapon now designated the United States Contract Rifle, Model 1814, which is not mentioned at all.

In the pistol section the United States Contract Pistol, Model 1807, is described as a "Kentucky pistol" and the author expresses doubt that the gun was patterned after the 1806 Harpers Ferry pistol. Actually, the "Kentucky" designation is more fanciful than accurate and there are numerous contemporary references establishing that the 1807 contracts were founded on the 1806 pistol as a pattern. These same references show that deviation from the Harpers Ferry pattern were permitted to simplify manufacture.

The flintlock pistols purchased and used by the United States in the period 1810–1850 are adequately described and documented. Mr. Russell's heavy reliance on secondary sources, and apparent lack of firsthand knowledge of some of the arms, causes him some difficulty with the Ames and Deringer box-lock pistols of the 1840s. He has fallen into more pitfalls than he has avoided. He states that none of the Deringer pistols are dated and that some of them bear the marking "USR," which is supposed to stand for "United States Rifles." Actually, the USN Deringer pistols are dated 1847 and none are known to have the USR designation. Finally, there is no conclusive evidence that the USR found on some of the Ames pistols does mean United States Rifles, though this has been asserted by writers for years.

The chapter on "Powder, Ball, and Accessories" discusses the equipment necessary to keep the guns firing on the frontiers. Keeping your powder dry was the rule for the muzzle-loading weapons and the powder horns, cartridge boxes, and foil cartridges described here were designed to perform that very important function.

The final chapter on "Small Cannon of the Traders and Military" explores a very interesting and little-known aspect of firearms history on the frontiers. Small parties of troops or traders had a very definite need

for a weapon that would be effective beyond normal musket and rifle range, to give them an advantage over Indians armed with the latter weapons. Harpers Ferry Armory and Allegheny Arsenal produced a limited number of wall guns, presumably for exploring parties or some of the small frontier forts. These were, in effect, small cannon mounted on musket-like stocks and fired by a conventional flintlock. More powerful than conventional shoulder arms, they were more manageable than cannon in the wilderness. Small cannons, including swivels, boat cannon, and mountain cannon were also used but they were often too heavy to handle when the going became difficult; and for that reason many were abandoned in the field.

In spite of the deficiencies noted above, *Guns on the Early Frontiers* should be a useful book to the historian and arms student. The references cited will provide new source material for almost any researcher. The beginning collector will find the survey of American frontier history relating to guns interesting and informative, but the guns themselves are described better in other works.

The Frontier in Perspective. Edited by Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. xx + 300 pages, biblio., index. $5.50.)

Reviewed by Bayrd Still, *Professor of History, New York University*.

Sixty-five years have passed since the Wisconsin historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, in a now-famous essay, posited the significance of the American frontier in the nation's history. The present volume attests to the continued vitality and influence of this significant interpretation of the American experience. Its thirteen essays are a by-product of a Summer Session conference held at the University of Wisconsin in 1954, to which scholars from Canada, Mexico, and the United States were invited in order to help Wisconsin "reconsider the frontier." This was to be done by examining the history of frontier settlements not only in various parts of the United States but also in other areas of the world.

Some of the participants, represented in this volume, concerned themselves primarily with the similarities or differences between expansion in the United States and that which occurred in the area and era of their special interest. Thus Paul L. McKendrick notes a similarity in attitude between Turner's frontiersmen and the "hard-faced men who made the Roman Empire"; and Robert L. Reynolds sees parallels in the roles of the traders who furthered the commercial expansion of Europe in the Middle Ages and those who helped to extend the American frontier several centuries later. On the other hand, Russia's frontier differed from that of the United States, in the opinion of A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, in part because of the length of time involved in its occupation; and China's frontier, according to Eugene P. Boardman, was basically dissimilar to that of the

United States because it was more static, more a bulwark against the invader. Though the editors imply that this comparative method provides a means of testing the validity of the Turner hypothesis, it seems more likely that its chief benefit will be the insights gained from applying Turner's frame of reference to the history of the region concerned.

In the best of the essays, the authors have dealt, as Turner tried to do, with the transforming influence of the frontier experience upon the developing society; the result is the statement—or restatement—of interesting new interpretations, some of them less at variance with Turner than with his critics in recent years. For example, Silvio Zavala, of the Colegio de México, finds a vigor and liberalism in the society on Mexico's northern frontier that brings it into closer conformity to the Turner pattern than one would suppose from reading H. I. Priestley's description of the region; and A. L. Burt's outstanding essay on New France testifies to the essential democracy of that society, despite its feudal forms, thereby refuting a basic premise of B. F. Wright's assault upon the Turner thesis in the early 1930s.

The essays by Walter Prescott Webb, Thomas P. Abernethy, and Paul Gates are restatements or refinements of their now-familiar interpretations of aspects of the frontier theme; but it is good to have each stated within the limits of a short essay. In discussing the impact of the "Great Frontier," Professor Webb extends the concept of the transforming influence of readily available land from the national to the world scene and sees in 1929 the kind of turning point in the experience of the Western World that Turner detected in the history of the United States in 1890. Professor Abernethy, in a condensation of his studies of frontier society in the South, emphasizes, as he has elsewhere, the popular acquiescence in aristocratic leadership which made its society different from the Turnerian stereotype. Professor Gates calls attention to two groups—farm laborers and speculators in large estates—who were more numerously important in the society of the West than Turner's writings would indicate.

For four of the essays, the editors turned to an anthropologist and three literary historians. In an admirably developed discussion of the impact of the American Indian, A. Irving Hallowell attributes a special "coloring" to our culture as a result of the presence of the Indian peoples "throughout our whole colonial and national history." Henry Nash Smith traces the transforming influence of the American frontier-West upon the style of Mark Twain; Frederic G. Cassidy writes of its role in the development of an "American" language; and Walter Agard contributes a note on the transmission of the classical heritage to the West. As a whole, the book is a useful and informative one, despite the misleading implications of its dust jacket, on which it is called "the first volume devoted entirely to a thorough study of the world's various frontiers."

The Republican Era: 1869–1901. By LEONARD D. WHITE, with the assistance of JEAN SCHNEIDER. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958. 406 pages, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by PHILIP L. WHITE, *Fulbright Scholar and lecturer in American history at the University of Nottingham.*

Leonard D. White had had a distinguished career as student and practitioner of public administration even before he undertook to "explore the origin and growth of the opinions that Americans possess about public management" by writing the administrative history of the Federal government. The first three volumes of that history (*The Federalists*, 1948; *The Jeffersonians*, 1951; *The Jacksonians*, 1954) won him still wider acclaim for the wisdom, imagination, and thoroughness which he applied to the history of a subject which has too often been studied without reference to its historical context.

The Republican Era, fourth volume in the series, covers a period (1869–1901) which was not remarkable for innovation. Neither the economic transformation of the period nor the accompanying political convulsions altered administrative practices appreciably. The Civil War and the Spanish-American War brought temporary changes, but after each conflict return to administrative "normalcy" was "rapid and substantially complete." Nevertheless, there were two trends of major importance to which Professor White devoted most of his attention.

One was the gradual reëstablishment of Presidential power following the Congressional dominance of the Reconstruction era. To this end Hayes contributed most. By appeal to public opinion he forced the previously all-powerful Senate to confirm cabinet nominees in whose selection the Senators had not been "consulted." Garfield, continuing Hayes' policy, regained control of the New York Customs House from the Senatorial spoilsmen whose patronage it had been. Full control of Federal marshalls was preserved by Hayes' stubbornness in vetoing six appropriation measures to which Southerners had attached riders limiting the role of marshalls in policing Federal elections.

Presidential leadership in policy matters, however, was rarely exercised. Congress-ridden Department heads were largely free from Presidential control (cf. departmental autonomy under Eisenhower). Congressional committees repeatedly concerned themselves with administrative reorganization but no President seemed to consider this his responsibility. In Congress itself Presidential influence was minimal (except McKinley's). It was assumed that the President, as John Sherman expressed it, should *obey* and enforce the laws, leaving to the people the duty of correcting any errors committed by their representatives in Congress.

The second development of major importance was civil service reform. In retelling this familiar story, Professor White, a longtime specialist in civil service matters, provides an interesting new perspective. The Pendle-

ton Act, in his judgment, established not just a merit system but the basis of a "modern" personnel set-up, which to Professor White means the civil service reformer's utopia of a government-wide system under a single director responsible to the President. Without civil service reform and the reëstablishment of Presidential power, Professor White concludes, the government would have been unprepared to cope with the responsibilities which an industrial economy and world-power status were to impose upon it in the Twentieth Century.

Departmental developments of some importance are also recounted. War Department administration problems, chiefly the absence of unity of command except for the Secretary, were made glaringly evident by the Spanish-American War but rectified by the creation of the General Staff. Less far-reaching reforms in the Navy Department accompanied the rise of United States naval power. Two new departments, Agriculture and Interior ("Department of the Great Miscellany"), were organized and made creditable records. Pressure for the extension of departmental services came—it seems odd to be reminded—from Republicans, especially Wanamaker in the Post Office and Jeremiah M. Rusk in Agriculture, while the most vigorous practitioner of the minimum government philosophy was Agriculture Secretary Morton, a Democrat.

There are shortcomings. The topical organization leaves chronology a bit hazy and involves some repetition. There is repetition also in the otherwise salutary practice of telling the reader at the beginning of each chapter where he is going and then reminding him at the end as to where he has been. More serious is the unexplained omission of the Lincoln and Johnson administrations and the beginning of the independent regulatory commissions. These faults and an occasional stylistic lapse are probably attributable to haste required by the imminence of the author's death.

The value of Professor White's works, like the value of history in general, is difficult to appraise in specific terms. He has provided a more detailed knowledge of administrative experience in the Federal government. To those concerned with securing more effective operation of a more thoroughly democratic government Professor White offers invaluable information, insight, and perspective. It is to be regretted that his last volume had to be hurried but far more so that he did not live to examine and report upon what he called "the unparalleled progress" in the theory and practice of administration which began at the conclusion of the drab "Republican Era."

The Splendid Little War. By Frank Freidel. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958. 314 pages, biblio., illus. $8.50.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

On April 11, 1898, President McKinley sent his war message to Congress, and for the first time since 1848 the United States was engaged in a war outside its borders.

After the Civil War the interests of the American people had been concentrated on settling the area beyond the Mississippi and adapting to the new industrial age; foreign policy was of no major interest. In fact, the New York *Sun*, on February 9, 1889, suggested that Congress abolish the foreign service!

Whatever the causes for the change in sentiment by 1898—and Professor Freidel advances, as a major reason, the crusading morality of the American people interested in rescuing the Cubans from Spain—they were powerful enough to make the peaceable McKinley submit to the pressure brought against him by Congress and the public.

This book is concerned, primarily, with the military and naval campaigns of the war. The combination of pictures and text which the author has used is most effective. While it is true that the Spanish-American War produced no photographer as skilled as Mathew Brady, there were capable photographers on the scene. Many of the men who participated in the war were amateur photographers and there is a vividness and personal quality to their pictures which appropriately complements the text. In addition, well-known artists such as Howard Chandler Christy, Frederic Remington, and William J. Glackens were present, and they portrayed certain aspects of the military campaign in striking fashion.

American victories on land and sea, in the Spanish-American War, are fairly well known. Thanks to the planning of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt the navy was well prepared. The army was far less so, but after initial confusion troops finally landed in Cuba and Puerto Rico and acquitted themselves honorably.

What is less often emphasized in accounts of this war, however, is the gallantry of the Spanish fleet, sailing to almost certain destruction. Professor Freidel has stressed this aspect, which was well appreciated by the American Navy at the time.

It was a brief war. Hostilities ended by protocol on August 12, and a treaty of peace was signed on December 10, 1898. Despite its brevity, it was vigorous enough to the participants, and John Hay, American Ambassador to England probably reflected majority opinion when he described it as "a splendid little war" in a letter written to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt during the summer of 1898.

The United States reaped rich rewards in glory and prestige from the Spanish-American War, but with these came heavy burdens. The Filipinos, for example, had no wish to exchange the domination of Spain for that of the United States, and before their insurrection was crushed the toll was almost as great as that of the Spanish-American War itself. The revelations of disorganization in the War Department, the bitter fight over ratification of the Treaty of Peace in the Senate, and the realization that the United States had annexed a country (the Philippines) without

the consent of its people, disturbed many Americans. What had begun as a high-minded adventure ended in disillusionment.

In the reaction which followed the war the idealism and courage of those who fought in it were too quickly forgotten. It is appropriate, therefore, to recall the words of the past National Commander of the United Spanish War Veterans spoken in 1952—and quoted by the author: "Let me say to you, it was no tin foil war we were fighting back there."

Hell's Kitchen. By Richard O'Connor. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. 249 pages, biblio. $4.95.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

Since there is no certain agreement as to the exact location of that part of Manhattan's West Side known as "Hell's Kitchen" it is reasonable to accept the boundaries set by the author of this book. From Twenty-third Street on the south to Fifty-ninth Street on the north, between Eighth Avenue and the Hudson River, are the geographical limits of a district once as notorious as any city's in this country.

As with so many parts of Manhattan, in looking backward, the transition from countryside to urban community seems to have been sudden. By the 1850s residential and business growth had reached Forty-second Street, and by the middle 1860s the neighborhood defined as Hell's Kitchen had become a maze of tenements, slaughterhouses and railroad yards. The inhabitants of this unlovely section were, for the most part, as raucous and tumultuous as the noisy industries which surrounded them. Crime and violence were common, and it is not surprising that many of the participants in the Draft Riots of 1863 were from Hell's Kitchen.

Venal politicians and apathetic New Yorkers must bear some of the blame for the moral stench which characterized the area. In view of the wide-open dens of vice in the adjoining Tenderloin (a district just east of Hell's Kitchen between Seventh and Fifth Avenues from Fourteenth Street nearly to Forty-second), it is obvious that the authorities were not vigilant. Rowdy as the street gangs were during the second half of the 19th century, and through the first part of the 20th century to 1917, yet Hell's Kitchen produced its heroes. The district was heavily represented in the ranks of the famous Sixty-Ninth Regiment, "The Fighting Irish," of World War I.

After the end of the first World War, with the exception of some activity during Prohibition, the area became more peaceful. The construction of the approaches to the Lincoln Tunnel eliminated some of the dreary slums of Hell's Kitchen and the decrease in immigration also had its effect.

While it might seem logical to conclude that, if a few accounts of brutality and violence are shocking, many such accounts will shock still

more, this book proves the deduction not always true. In fact, the almost unrelieved recital of disorder and mayhem tends to become wearisome well before the book concludes. The author notes in his preface that he did not intend to write either a formal history or a sociological textbook and yet it would seem that if another book about Hell's Kitchen is to serve any purpose it must be more than an account of already well-known facts about the district's lurid characters and their notorious activities.

Al Smith and His America. By Oscar Handlin. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958. x + 207 pages, note on sources, index. $3.50.)

Reviewed by Robert Ernst, *Professor of History, Adelphi College, Garden City, N.Y.*

This seventeenth volume of the *Library of American Biography* is written by the editor of the series, Oscar Handlin. Like its companions, *Al Smith and His America* is brief, lively, and based on sound scholarship. It is not intended for scholars and presents no new data. Its brevity and absence of footnotes, however, and its excellent five-page bibliographical essay should appeal to the general reader. Unfortunately, the book is not illustrated. Its well-chosen title suggests Smith's poverty-ridden, Irish-American, Catholic upbringing in the Fourth Ward on the lower east side, his Tammany associations, and his steady political advancement, culminating in four remarkably successful terms as the most social-minded reform governor New York had ever had.

Al Smith shared the American dream that any man born in the United States could be President—until 1928. In that year his failure to win the big prize, Handlin contends, was occasioned largely by nativist prejudices he could neither understand nor alter. Although it is improbable that any Democrat could have succeeded in prosperous 1928, Smith's Tammany connections, his outspoken opposition to prohibition, and above all his Irish Catholic background left him open to vicious attacks; a stunning defeat crushed his optimism and ended his political future. His disillusionment was the more profound when his protégé, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the new Governor of New York, shunned Smith's advice, avoided the religious issue, marshalled his own support from southern and western Democrats antagonistic to Smith, and went on to the Presidency four years later. Meanwhile the embittered Smith turned to the solace of family, old friends, and business associates. His involvement in the Empire State Building and other ventures occasioned new worries during the depression, and his angry Liberty League opposition to the New Deal marked the ironic and pathetic anticlimax to the Happy Warrior's career.

Some time after his defeat in 1928 Smith remarked to Frances Perkins, "Well, the time just hasn't come when a man can say his beads in the White House." Have times changed sufficiently in the last thirty years, and will Smith's American dream be vindicated? Handlin's volume is

particularly relevant to the possibility that in 1960 the Democrats will nominate Senator John F. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, for President. Kennedy himself has written of this book: "By stressing a few flashpoints in his career Oscar Handlin has been able to assess his [Smith's] leadership more skillfully than would have probably been possible in a full-dress biography." This reviewer concurs.

Three Hundred Years of American Painting. By ALEXANDER ELIOT. (New York: Time Incorporated, 1957. x + 318 pages, 250 illus. in color, biblio., index. $13.50.)

Reviewed by DAVID H. WALLACE, *National Park Service, co-author of* The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860.

American art has long been the privileged domain of scholars and critics who have written for a limited audience. The bibliography of the field is full of articles, monographs, and books which, however indispensable to the student, offer little to appeal to the public at large. They are, for the most part, poorly written and inadequately illustrated. This is due in large part to a fatalistic feeling that there is and can be no wide popular interest in the subject, and, following upon that feeling, the reluctance of publishers to go to the extra expense of providing good illustrations for books that won't sell. There is also, unfortunately, a still strong prejudice among academic writers against what is called "popularization." Skilful writing and good scholarship are not necessarily incompatible, however, as has been shown in recent years by Lloyd Goodrich, James Thomas Flexner, Oliver Larkin, and a few others. It remains to be seen whether good writing, attractive format and aggressive publicity can sell American art history to the American reading public. In Alexander Eliot's *Three Hundred Years of American Painting*, the editors of Time Incorporated have put the public to the test.

It is to be hoped that their effort will be well rewarded, for this is a book which deserves to be popular. Most of its 299 over-size pages Mr. Eliot devotes to a running narrative history of trends in American painting, illuminated by brief but vivid commentaries on the lives and works of about 150 outstanding or typical artists, from the anonymous limners of 17th-century Boston to the most advanced abstractionists of present-day New York. Mr. Eliot's words are supplemented by 250 full-color reproductions of one or more key works by each artist discussed. As a bonus, the author has included a selective bibliography and a brief listing of 100 American museums and art galleries where works by American artists are permanently exhibited. The whole makes a stimulating, eye-filling package which cannot fail to make many new friends for American art.

Readers already familiar with the early history of American art will find few new facts in this book. This should not deter them from reading

it, however, for Mr. Eliot writes well and brings a fresh interpretation to familiar material. The book is remarkably free of outright errors of fact, a noteworthy feature in any work of this scope. It is more open to criticism for its omissions. Readers of this *Quarterly* will be especially surprised to find no mention in Mr. Eliot's book of any of the artists who worked in New York City during the Colonial period. This is a reflection of a more basic fault, in this reviewer's opinion, which has led Mr. Eliot to race through 250 years in the first half of the book and then give the second half to a more leisurely survey of developments in the past 50 years. His desire to deal more expansively with the present or immediate past is understandable but nonetheless disappointing and misleading.

This book should be welcomed by all for the excellence of its illustrations. The fidelity of the color reproductions naturally varies, but the level is high. This is far and away the best illustrated book on American art that has yet appeared. An additional agreeable feature is the fact that the pictures reproduced are the ones discussed in the text. There is nothing more frustrating, or more common, than to find detailed criticisms of pictures not reproduced and reproductions of pictures not mentioned in the text. Future writers would do well to emulate Mr. Eliot's example in this respect.

Mr. Eliot and the editors of Time Incorporated have shown the way. Let us hope that other publishers and other authors will follow it and bring to an ever-widening public an ever-deepening appreciation of American art.

The Winthrop Woman. By Anya Seton. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958. x + 586 pages. $4.95.)

The Promised Land. By John J. Vrooman. (Johnstown, N.Y.: The Baronet Litho. Co., 1958. 398 pages, illus. $6.00.)

O Genesee. By Janet O'Daniel. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. 350 pages. $3.95.)

Reviewed by R. W. G. Vail.

Perhaps you who like your history straight think that historical novels are unimportant and beneath your attention. If so, you do not read the newspapers and realize how profoundly Boris Pasternak's powerful novel of present day Russia: *Doctor Zhivago* has shaken the foundations of the Kremlin. You cannot ignore the influence of historical fiction. How many a student of history got his first taste of it by reading the *Knickerbocker History of New York* or perhaps one of the *Leatherstocking Tales* or a story by G. A. Henty and, in our day, the historical novels of authors like the late Kenneth Roberts which were as carefully documented and as accurately written as the best of the regular historians and much more readable to boot.

Three interesting historical novels of the current season illustrate life on the frontier of New York at different years and in different localities. The earliest of these and the best is Anya Seton's *The Winthrop Woman*, which, though in the form of fiction, is excellent history and biography and good literature. To the historian it is an authentic life of one of the most interesting women in colonial America, to the general public it is a best seller, and to your reviewer it is the thrilling story of one of his own ancestors.

Elizabeth Winthrop, born in England in 1610, was the niece of stern and uncompromising Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the sweetheart of his son John, later Governor of Connecticut, and the wife of his second son Henry who died just as the Winthrop fleet arrived in Massachusetts waters. Her uncle then married her off to the wealthy silversmith Robert Feake (ancestor of Robert Feke the famous colonial artist). When Feake went crazy his wife secured from old Peter Stuyvesant the first American divorce and then married for her third husband William Hallet, founder of Hallet's Cove or Astoria and a pioneer official of Flushing, Long Island. The story is based on the Winthrop Papers and other authentic contemporary records in England, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York. Beginning in England in 1617 and coming down to New Netherland in 1655, this story shows why and how our ancestors came to New England and how they lived in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Netherland in the early days. It also tells the true adventures of a spirited, brave, fun-loving girl who eventually broke away from the dominance of her puritanical and tyrannical uncle, married the man she loved and settled among the more liberal Dutch of New Netherland.

It also gives us vivid and authentic glimpses of life in Merry England, in glum New England, and in liberal New Netherland; it paints clear and accurate portraits of fanatical Governor John Winthrop, of his warm-hearted, generous and able son, Governor John Jr. of Connecticut, of conscientious, genial and helpful Reverend George Phillips, chaplain of the Winthrop fleet, author of "The Puritan's Farewell to England" and first minister of Watertown, and of many other historical personages. It vividly pictures the conscience-ridden, mentally warped Robert Feake, the tragically determined liberal religious leader Anne Hutchinson, the stern but short-tempered Dutch Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, and the able, honest frontiersman William Hallet. With literary skill and swift moving action the author tells for a wide public a thrilling and true story previously known to only a few and in the process clears up the centuries-old controversy regarding the validity of the heroine's divorce from her insane second husband. This is certainly one of our great historical novels and richly deserves its wide popularity.

We have just enjoyed reading in galley proof a most interesting story

by the Schenectady author, John J. Vrooman, called: *The Promised Land*. This, the second story to bear this title, tells for the first time in novel form the story of how and why the Palatines left the Rhine valley in the early 18th century, paused briefly in London, and finally settled in New York, first along the Hudson and then in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys. Most historical accounts of this German migration say little or nothing of the unhappiness which drove these fine people from their Rhineland homes or of their tragic hand-to-mouth existence under royal bounty near London, but here their sad story is vividly told as well as that of the English crown's abortive attempt to settle them on the Hudson to produce naval stores for the British navy and of their later settlement in the rich valleys of the Mohawk and the Schoharie. The characters of the story are natural and appealing, the historical personages are accurately drawn, and the historical events correctly told and skillfully woven into an appealing and absorbing story which will be of real interest not only to those of us who are descended from these frontiersmen but to all who are interested in the pioneer days of our State. The illustrations, drawn with spirit and with historical accuracy, add not a little to the charm of the volume.

In Janet O'Daniel's *O Genesee* we move still farther west and advance to the period of the War of 1812 and to the local militia's defense from British attack of what was later to be the port of Rochester. The author has used this minor event of a sorry war which, along the northern frontier at least, was no credit either to the British or the Americans, as a spirited vehicle for the development of a most interesting and unusual character, Marcus Hook, the frontier trader. Hard-fisted, tough-minded, and patriotic, he is at first misunderstood by the men along the frontier who suspected him of trading with the enemy but as the leader of the defense of the trading post on the shores of Lake Ontario he proves his loyalty and shows his leadership. Though not always popular with the men, he was always a great favorite with the women, but his own love affair ended sadly since he realized that any other solution would lead to greater unhappiness.

The narrative is excellent, the characters are distinctly drawn and they move around the hero so as to make an excellent story. But, though the author is supposed to be a native of the Genesee Valley, she has failed to make as much use as she might of the important, picturesque and really exciting real people who lived in the region at the time of her story. And she also seems to be vague as to her local geography. You do not get the authentic feel of that particular locality and, when her characters flit back and forth with the greatest of ease from the log crossroads village of Rochesterville to the capital of the region at Canandaigua, she does not seem to realize that they must ride 28 miles each way over a rugged frontier road. But in spite of a few unimportant local criticisms which

occur to one born in the region, the story is well told and has the proper flavor of time and place and, best of all, has created several authentic and one outstanding character.

The Paxton Papers. Edited with an introduction by JOHN R. DUNBAR. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957. xi + 399 pages, index. 24.50 guilders [$6.45].)

Reviewed by THERESA A. CZAJKOWSKA.

The twenty-eight pamphlets reprinted for the first time in one volume with a splendid introduction by John R. Dunbar represent the core of a bitter pamphlet war waged in Philadelphia in 1764. These pamphlets, and at least as many others not included in Mr. Dunbar's book, were published within several months after a group of Pennsylvania frontiersmen, known as the "Paxton Boys," rebelling against the Quaker government, murdered two groups of Christian Indians and then marched toward Philadelphia, threatening further destruction, in a dramatic protest against inadequate protection of their homes. Because these rare little booklets contain contemporary accounts of the riots as well as much information on the issues involved in the ensuing political controversy, virtually every history of Pennsylvania contains references to them. Now their actual texts are at last made available for easy consultation and for a reassessment of their value.

Mr. Dunbar has selected for publication those pamphlets which deal primarily with the revolt and its underlying causes. The pamphleteers' most immediate concern was to condemn or justify the murders and the rioters and, to that end, to criticize or defend the existing political system which nurtured the rebellion. Pro-Paxton propagandists, while not actually approving the massacres, attempted to vindicate the Paxton Boys as desperate men tried beyond their endurance, and concentrated on picturing the unbearable conditions which led them to revolt. Their opponents either openly denounced the rioters as inhuman murderers or aroused sympathy for the Indian victims by emphasizing their peaceable character and by describing the murders in great, even exaggerated, detail. One can sense the mounting tension and excitement as one pamphleteer directly answered another, often with great venom, and political issues became more clearly defined. To get some idea of the fury of this campaign, one need only note that seven replies were published to *The Quaker Unmask'd* . . . and these, in turn, elicited new responses.

The leaders of the expedition, upon official invitation, published their own *Declaration and Remonstrance* . . . which the Quakers promptly denounced. To this Mr. Dunbar has also added *The Apology of the Paxton Volunteers* . . . taken from a manuscript in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. As the quarrels grew more heated, it becomes

evident that political dissension was its true cause. Attention gradually withdrew from the actual massacres and from the question of the rioters' guilt or innocence, and issues such as Quaker non-resistance and pacific Indian policy, inadequate frontier protection, proprietary land frauds and tax evasion, alleged Scotch-Presbyterian lawlessness and Quaker guile, came to the fore. These issues, reflecting sectional differences, were symptoms of a spirit of liberalism and rebellion foreshadowing the Revolutionary War. At the time, the debates on local problems paved the way for broader arguments, not included in this volume, about a proposed change in the form of government, but the campaign had far greater significance: The pamphleteering caused by the Paxton Boys' riots no doubt helped to prepare authors, printers, and readers for even more important conflicts.

The Paxton Papers not only records some interesting examples of 18th-century satire, political thought, and popular literary taste, but with its publication, it is hoped, the controversy over the Paxton Boys' guilt or martyrdom, carried on in the prejudiced treatment of that subject by later historians, will have finally ceased. It is evident that "facts" quoted or appropriated from the 1764 pamphlets, although unreliable, were used as primary sources of information by many historians of Lancaster County. In a masterly introduction, Mr. Dunbar has carefully reconstructed the background of the rebellion: its political, economic, and social framework; the reasons for the frontiersmen's discontent and for the government's apparent insensitivity to their needs; and the events preceding, during, and immediately following the massacres, as recorded in contemporary letters and documents.

Mr. Dunbar has also provided valuable notes which explain ambiguous references, identify anonymous authors, and supply illuminating biographical and bibliographical material. It is to be regretted that the information which would have made this volume complete has been omitted: identification of the printers involved in the controversy, a checklist of all the extant pamphlets pertaining to it (including those in the German language) and of their variants, and their location. The New-York Historical Society owns an impressive collection—all but two of those reprinted in this volume and a half-dozen more, presumably rejected by the author, which might well have been included. Some of the suspense and intensity of that paper war is lost by leaving out pertinent replies to several of the pamphlets reprinted here, and the inclusion of two others seems necessary for an understanding of *The Plain Dealer . . . Numb. III* in which a reference to them in the text is not even clarified in a footnote. But these are minor deficiencies in a carefully edited, scholarly volume which can indeed be considered as the final treatment of a slight but colorful and rewarding subject.

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